Subject: NAACP

File Number: 61-3176

Section Number: 42

Serials: 971-984

4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FBI/DOJ

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A.H. Belmont

DATE: June 25, 1955

FROM : [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: [redacted] WASHINGTON, D.C.
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

At 10:20 a.m. on 6-25-55, by referral from the Director's office, the writer spoke to an individual identifying himself as [redacted] Washington, D. C. [redacted] stated he was concerned about "legitimacy" of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). [redacted] rambled in his conversation. Was very emphatic against integration of negroes with whites. Expressed opinion NAACP subversive. Asked whether Bureau had any information concerning NAACP. He was told Bufiles confidential, and that no information could be given him, in response to his request. He furnished no additional identifying data concerning himself.

b7C

b7C

b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

[redacted] b7C

Ticklers - Mr. Belmont

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED-45 61-3176-912

INDEXED-45 JUN 27 1955

[redacted] b7C

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6 JUL 5 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT KNOXVILLE

| REPORT MADE AT | DATE WHEN MADE | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE | REPORT MADE BY |
|---|---|---|---|
| KNOXVILLE | 6/30/55 | 5/17;6/23/55 | [redacted] |

TITLE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE - KNOXVILLE DIVISION

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b7C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] 8-1 61

DETAILS: (S) P

AT KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE:

[redacted] 61

C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ATTENTION - P -

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Class. & Ext. By SP-8BTJ/mlw
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
Date of Review 4/7/82
4/7/82

AGENCY BABI-6, C-2, AN, NSC
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. 7-19-55
HOW FORW. R.S.
BY HC, SAD

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Special Agent in Charge

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62-3176-673

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JUL 5 1955

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60 JUL 20 1955

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

[redacted] b2 b7D b1

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and "T" symbols utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

A copy of this report is designated for New York pursuant to Bureau instructions in bulet to New York dated 2/10/54.

LEADS

KNOXVILLE DIVISION

At Chattanooga, Tennessee,

Will continue contact with informants to ascertain extent of any Communist infiltration in NAACP in Chattanooga.

At Knoxville, Tennessee,

Will, through discreet inquiry, ascertain extent of PARSONS' participation in NAACP activities and any evidence of Communist infiltration.

REFERENCE

Report of SA [redacted] dated 4/16/55 at Knoxville. b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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FD-36

Air-tel

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

New York, 6/30/55

Transmit the following Teletype message to: Bureau

COMINFIL NAACP, EB-C. Reurlet, 6/23/55.

Instant report dictated, will be forwarded immediately after transcription.

KELLY

(3) - Bureau (61-3176)(RM)

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Mr. Belmont

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EX-121

EX JUL 1 1955

100-7629 b7C

b7C

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

64 JUL 11 1955

...ERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FD-36

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. W...
Tele. R...
Mr. H...
Miss G...

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

AIRTEL

FBI, PITTSBURGH (100-6306) 6/27/55 4:15 PM DST

DIRECTOR, FBI

COMINFIL NAACP - PITTSBURGH DIVISION, IS-C.
PITTSBURGH ORIGIN.

Rerep SA [redacted] PG, 6/24/55. b7C

One copy of rerep was erroneously designated for ONI, Harrisburg rather than OSI, Harrisburg. Error discovered after Bureau and NY copies mailed but all other copies corrected prior to dissemination to G-2, ONI and OSI.

Bureau and NY requested to correct their copies.

GILLIES, Acting

[redacted] b7C

(5)

CC (3) BUREAU (61-3176)
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61-3176-975

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7 JUN 29 1955

Mr. Belmont

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[redacted] b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

The FBI is mentioned on pages 7 and 12.

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Jones
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7C

We think the attached publication will be of interest to you.

We would appreciate any comment you may wish to make.

Sincerely,

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

LO 3-6890

Bulet 7-1-55 to request of this bulletin

b7C

ENCL. 1

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G.I.R.-6

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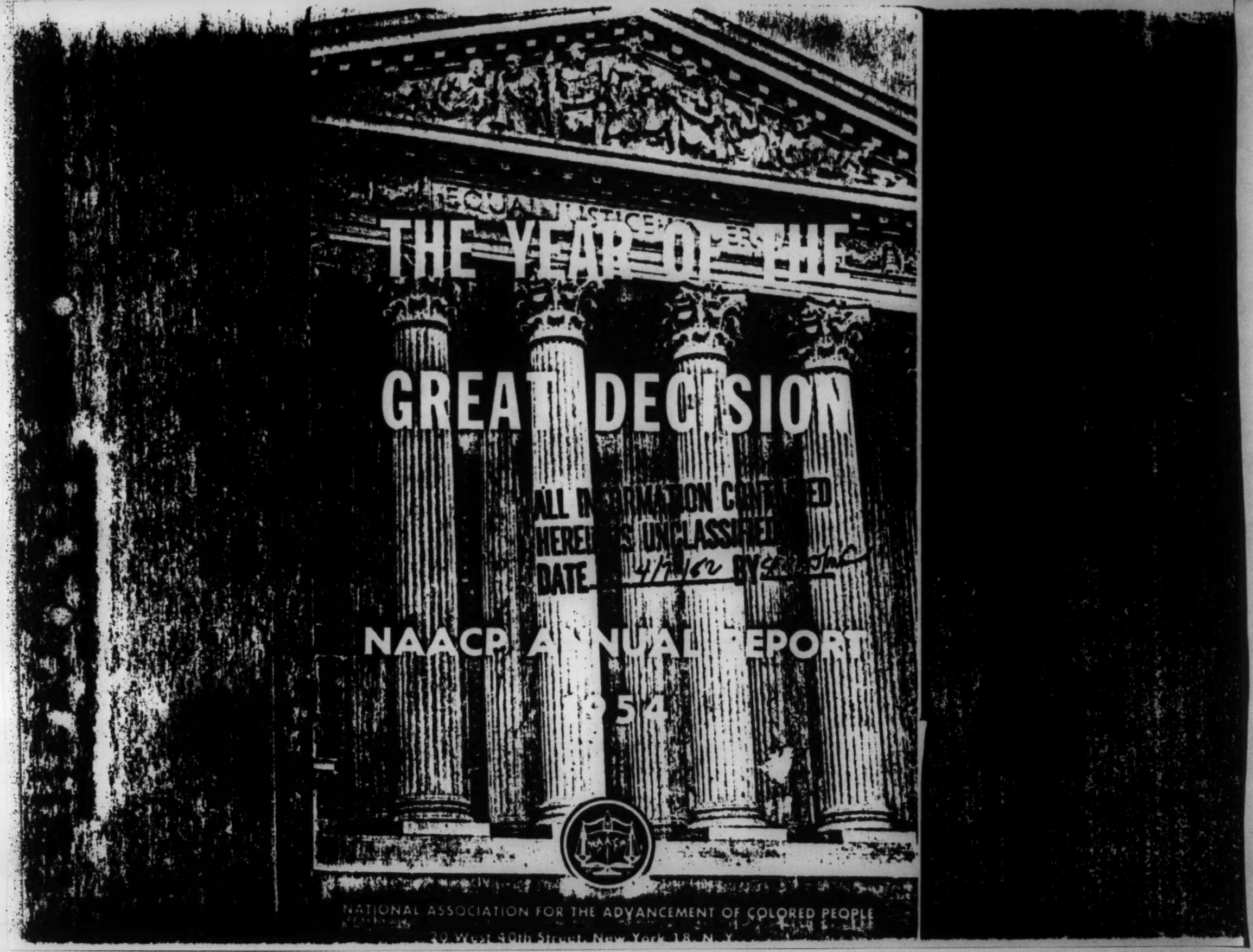
EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW
THE YEAR OF THE
GREAT DECISION
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NAACP ANNUAL REPORT
1954
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

# THE YEAR OF THE GREAT DECISION

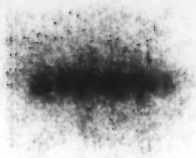
**NAACP Annual Report**

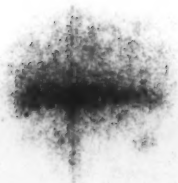
**Forty-sixth Year**

**1954**

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.





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*ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, President of the NAACP since 1939, opens annual meeting to hear reports of staff members.*

# I

# THE YEAR OF THE GREAT DECISION

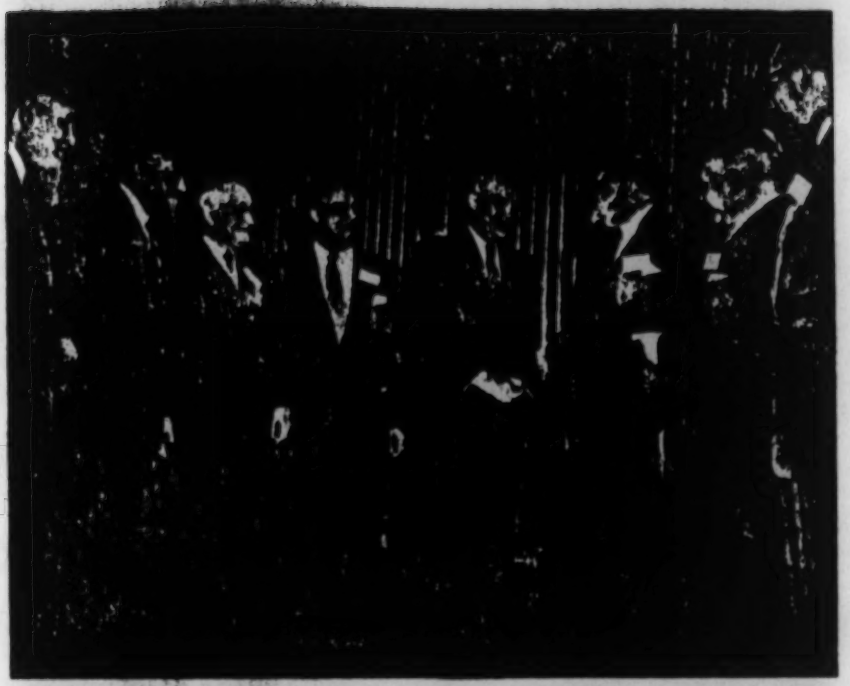
## *Report of the Executive Secretary*

Nineteen fifty-four may well become known in American history as the year of the Great Decision. For in the spring of the year, the United States Supreme Court charted a new pathway for American school children — away from the obsolete "separate but equal" pattern, towards the democratic goal of integration and equal opportunity.

The historic decision, handed down unanimously on May 17th, concluded "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." The Court went on to declare that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." It held that "the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

In the history of the United States, and certainly in the history of the American Negro, the decision was and will continue to be of utmost significance: it put the law of the land unequivocally on the side of human rights. For that legal victory the Association, and all Americans, owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the many dedicated lawyers, living and dead, who over the years fought without compromise for unabridged Negro citizenship rights. Among them were such men as the late Moorfield Storey, Charles H. Houston, Arthur Garfield Hays, and Leon Ranson. The list of the living must include, among many others, Arthur B. Spingarn, Thurgood Marshall, William H. Hastie, Robert L. Carter, and Loren Miller.

These attorneys and others, however, would be quick to point out that court decisions — even those of the Supreme Court — need to be augmented by an enlightened public opinion. The vigorous approval given the Supreme Court's school decision was a heartening



*EISENHOWER GREETS CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS: President Eisenhower greets NAACP officials at a Freedom Fulfillment Conference in Washington, March 16. Left to right: Dr. Ralph J. Buncbe, director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division and member of the board of directors, NAACP; Carl R. Johnson, board member and president, Kansas City, Mo., branch; Arthur B. Spingarn, national president; Judge Theodore Spaulding, Philadelphia, NAACP board member; President Eisenhower; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Association's board of directors; Walter White, executive secretary, NAACP; Judge William H. Hastie, Philadelphia, board member.*

sign; organizations which spoke out for the edict included every major church, labor and civil rights group in the United States, South as well as North. The major credit for this acceptance of the Court's decree belongs to the branches of the Association for their unremitting work carried on at times, as in Mississippi in 1954, in the face of economic pressures and threats of violence.

For its courageous and unequivocal decision on this basic moral issue, unqualified praise should go to the United States Supreme Court. So, too, do we owe a debt of gratitude to President Eisenhower for his firm stand against racial segregation. However, that praise extends to very few of his own political party. The NAACP hopes that both he and the Republican party will recognize the need for a Federal fair employment practices law with full enforcement powers,

for the inclusion in all appropriate bills of amendments to prohibit expenditure of any Federal funds for segregation or discrimination, for drastic revision of the McCarran Immigration Act and especially of its infamous national origins provision, for legislation against Jim Crow in travel and more vigorous action against the bigots of such organizations as the White Citizens Councils now being formed in Mississippi and Alabama to put economic and other pressures upon Negroes who demand full citizenship rights.

The NAACP will continue to urge the Democratic party to abandon its present surrender on major civil rights issues and moral principles in an effort to woo the most reactionary elements in the South.

## Substantial Gains

In addition to the successful NAACP court action to secure an anti-segregation ruling on public education, the Association during 1954 made substantial contributions towards the final elimination of segregation in the armed services, including schools operated on military posts; to the improvement of conditions for migrant farm workers in Pennsylvania and New York; and to the dimunition of segregation in the District of Columbia.

The year began propitiously with the Association's Freedom Fulfillment Conference in Washington on March 10 formally launching the Fight for Freedom campaign, with President Eisenhower as principal speaker. The President hailed the work of the NAACP, endorsed the "ideal of equality among all men," and again pledged the elimination of segregation wherever the Federal authority clearly extends.*

Due to the impetus of the Fight for Freedom campaign, the Association raised $231,691.87 more in 1954 than in 1953. Kivie Kaplan and Benjamin E. Mays, co-chairmen of the Life Membership Committee, together secured 115 life memberships of $500 each and 350 on which initial payments were made.

But it was not the NAACP alone which benefited from the fact that during 1954 America turned the corner from partial towards full freedom for all citizens. The pressures of world opinion were lessened because America's household was being cleansed. And the burdened conscience of the United States was eased by the fact that steady progress towards integration undermined the charge of hypocrisy, so often and so effectively leveled against our country whenever our national leaders espouse human freedom.

* For full text of President's remarks see Appendix

## New Board Members

At the forty-[illegible] meeting of the Association, two new members were elected to three-year terms on the forty-eight-person Board of Directors. They were Z. Alexander Looby, attorney and member of the City Council of Nashville, Tennessee, and Kivie Kaplan, president and general manager of the Colonial Tanning Company of Boston, Massachusetts.

Members of the Board reelected were: Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Joel E. Spingarn, Senator Herbert Lehman, Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, and Dr. Algernon D. Black, all of New York City; Theodore M. Berry, Cincinnati, Ohio; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Dr. J. Leonidas Leach, Flint, Michigan; Alfred Baker Lewis, Greenwich, Connecticut; Dr. James J. McClendon, Detroit, Michigan; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Virginia; Mrs. Jessie Vann, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta, Georgia.

In 1954 the Association mourned the loss of Arthur Garfield Hays, eminent civil rights attorney and a member of the NAACP National Legal Committee for thirteen years, who died in December. With Clarence Darrow, Mr. Hays served as chief counsel for the Association in two of the greatest civil rights court battles of the 20th Century. These were the Scottsboro case, and the Sweet case which dealt with the right of a man to protect his home against the assaults of a mob.

Among other friends of the Association who died during the year were Eugene Kinckle Jones (January), executive secretary of the National Urban League for thirty years; Dr. William Pickens (April), NAACP field secretary and director of branches from 1920 to 1942; the Hon. Gabriel L. Dennis (July), Secretary of State of the Republic of Liberia; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell (July), a lifelong crusader for equal rights for women and for members of minority races, and former president of the National Association of Colored Women; Hugo Ernst (July), labor leader who fought uncompromisingly [illegible] racial and religious bigotry, and a speaker at the Association's 1954 Freedom Fulfillment Conference; Dr. Rivers Frederick (September), a life member and supporter of the Association; John A. Hagans, Sr. (September), a founder of the Niagara Movement, and a supporter and member of the Association; and J. Rosamond Johnson (November), composer, actor, authority on the Negro spiritual, and brother of James Weldon Johnson, who served as executive secretary of the Association from 1920 to 1930.

## The Job Ahead

What of the road ahead? The biggest job is presenting to the Supreme Court the most effective arguments possible for the termination of all segregation in all tax-supported education at an early date. But with that purely legal job goes an equally important one outside the Court. That job is to use every instrument of orderly constitutional government to stop the efforts of organized bigots who from Milford, Delaware, to rural Mississippi are engaged in treasonable acts to flout the decrees of the Supreme Court. Spokesmen for such organizations as the White Citizens Council, which is a form of neo-Ku Kluxism, assert for public consumption that they are opposed to mob violence. But the inevitable effect of their action can and possibly will be violence which will do the country incalculable harm both here at home and throughout the world.

This is the major task ahead. Fortunately, the NAACP is stronger today than at any other period since its founding in 1909. But the need for an even stronger organization is greater than ever if the unfinished tasks which lie ahead are to be completed with dispatch. This requires redoubled efforts on the part of all freedom-loving Americans who realize how much remains to be done.

II

# CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE COMMUNITY

## *Report of the Branch Department*

The Association's network of branches — located in forty-four states, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Alaska — is responsible for carrying out the organization's program on the local level. Branches deal with community problems of segregation and discrimination, and in so doing are subject to all manner of difficulties ranging from general community pressure against the NAACP program to overt threats and intimidation.

Coordination of activities and program direction for branches is the responsibility of the Branch Department under the direction of Gloster B. Current. The Department works through the NAACP regional and area offices and through its own field staff.

During 1954 branches, regional offices, youth councils and college chapters made steady progress toward the NAACP goal of full citizenship for all. Activities sponsored by branches included petitions filed with local school boards asking school desegregation in accord with the Supreme Court's May 17 decision, and aggressive attacks upon race bias in housing, health services, public accommodations, and employment. Information programs were developed by some of the branches to influence public opinion and to acquaint citizens with the NAACP's accomplishments and objectives.

Greater community support was accorded the NAACP in 1954 than in previous years.

At the end of the year the NAACP had 240,000 members. Year's end showed a total of 1,350 active branches, youth councils and college chapters. One hundred and fifty-two new units were chartered during the year, comprising ninety-eight branches, forty-five youth councils and nine college chapters.

### Local Implementation of the School Decision

The issue of segregation in our public school systems came to a head in 1954 with the Supreme Court decision banning such segrega-

tion. NAACP branches engaged in activity to facilitate the implementation of the decision and to effect integration of public school teaching staffs. Some of their accomplishments were:

*Arkansas* — State Conference of Branches: Assisted seventeen branches in the state in filing petitions for desegregation with local school boards. The high schools in Fayetteville and Charleston were integrated; conferences were held between school boards and NAACP representatives in Little Rock, Sweet Home and other communities.

*Delaware* — Sussex County: Secured the cooperation of other local agencies to alleviate the school strike in Milford; secured tape recordings which resulted in the arrest of Bryant Bowles, agitator against school integration in and around Milford; filed suit for the reinstatement of Negro students to the high school in Milford.

*District of Columbia:* Successfully protested plans for "gradual integration" in Washington schools, submitted to the District School Board by Dr. Hobart Corning, Superintendent of Schools. Although the Corning plan pleaded the impossibility of reorganizing the schools by September, 1954, a realistic integration program did begin that month.

*Maryland* — Prince George: Arranged a meeting with the school board which resulted in the appointment of a citizens' committee to work on implementation of the Supreme Court decision.

— Baltimore: Met with the Superintendent of Schools, the Commissioner of Police, local groups and others in an attempt to quell local school strikes; assigned private detectives to investigate the activities of Bryant Bowles in connection with the strikes and gave this information to the FBI.

*Mississippi* — State Conference of Branches: Laid plans, together with the NAACP Southeast Regional Advisory Board, to combat the Citizens Councils organized in thirty-five of eighty-two counties for the purpose of stopping school integration and any other civil rights advances.

*Missouri* — Cape Girardeau: Was instrumental in having the local school board integrate the schools.

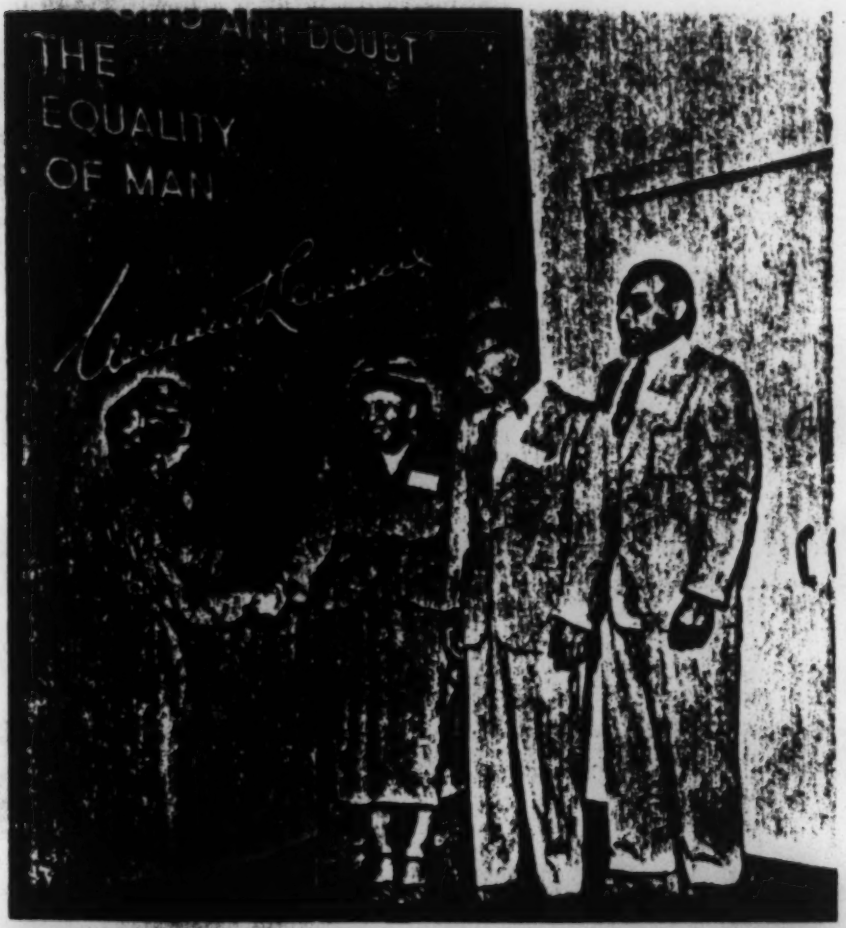
— Columbia: Persuaded the school board to adopt a policy of school integration; twenty-six Negro students enrolled in the local high school.

— Kansas City: Was instrumental in having the Board of Education integrate the junior college and vocational school and set integration throughout the school system for September, 1955.

— Marshall: Urged Negro parents to send their children to the formerly all-white [illegible] nine Negro students enrolled.

— St. Jose[illegible]ferences with the school board and other officials which resulted in integration of the local high schools and the junior college.

— Slater: Assisted in securing a decision from the school board to integrate the high school.




*CONGRATULATED FOR NAACP WORK: Mrs. Virginia Carrington of Charlottesville, Va., is congratulated by Miss Lucille Black (left), Membership Secretary, for bringing 180 new members into the Charlottesville branch. Looking on are Eugene Williams of Charlottesville, director of the membership campaign for that city; and W. Lester Banks (far right) of Richmond, Va., executive secretary of the Virginia state conference of branches.*

— Wellston: Filed a petition with the school board which resulted in the integration of grades seven to nine.

*Ohio* — Hillsboro: Filed a court order to enjoin the school board from requiring Negro students to return to segregated schools.

*Pennsylvania* — Steelton: Held conferences with the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools which resulted in the end of segregation in the two local schools.

*West Virginia* — State Conference of Branches: Conferred with the Governor regarding his stand on school integration; the Governor subsequently issued a statement expressing concurrence with the Supreme Court decision. Schools in twelve counties were integrated and partial integration was achieved in another thirteen counties.

## Protest Medical Center Project

Branches also carried out significant civil rights work in legislation, housing, employment, and other areas of American life. A brief survey of branch activities in these fields shows that among the more important accomplishments are the following:

The *Birmingham, Ala.*, branch lodged protests with the Office of the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, relative to a slum clearance and redevelopment plan for a medical center in Birmingham. The branch denounced the plan as perpetuating discrimination both in housing facilities — or lack of them — for the displaced Negro families and in the new medical center itself. Suit also was filed to gain admission of Negroes to public housing projects which barred them because of race.

Work by the *Sacramento, Calif.*, branch led to the first legal action in the United States to gain admission of Negro families into private housing receiving government mortgage insurance.

Branches in *Bridgeport* and *Norwalk, Conn.*, aided in stopping the use of Negro strikebreakers in a strike against the Hat Corporation of America. Branch activity included visiting the homes of the strikebreakers to urge them to desist, stopping employment referrals of Negroes for jobs in this capacity, holding mass meetings and sponsoring newspaper advertising against the practice.

The *Chicago* branch continued its unstinting efforts to resolve the Trumbull Park Homes situation, scene of hoodlum interference since Negro families moved into the federally-aided project. Conferences were held with the state attorney general, the police commissioner and other officials. The branch requested an investigation

of the Chicago Housing Authority by the State Housing Board to determine the CHA's racial policies, as well as Grand Jury action to secure [illegible] hoodlums arrested in the Trumbull Park situation.

### Swimming Pool Opened

The public swimming pool in *Kansas City, Mo.*, was opened on a non-segregated basis on June 12 as the result of legal action by the local branch.

A private housing project in *Syracuse, N. Y.*, was offered to families of any race rather than to Negroes only because of local branch intervention.

The *New York State* conference of branches promoted remedial legislation in the migratory labor field, culminating in the passage of three bills in the state legislature to insure minimum rights to migrant workers.

The *Columbus, Ohio*, branch was successful in gaining the employment of Negroes as bus drivers in that city.

The *Pennsylvania State* conference of branches instigated the organization of a statewide committee to work on the problems of migrant laborers.

Many state conferences of branches, particularly in the South, were active in non-partisan political action to increase Negro registration and voting, as well as in supervision of branch efforts to secure compliance with the Supreme Court anti-segregation decision.

### At the Regional Level

Regional offices, which furnish guidance and assistance for branches and state conferences within the geographical area, are located in Birmingham, Ala., San Francisco, Calif., and Dallas, Tex.

The Southeast region, with headquarters in Birmingham, consists of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

The West Coast region, with headquarters in San Francisco, directs branches in Arizona, California, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and the Territory of Alaska.

The Southwest region, with headquarters in Dallas, Tex., covers Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas.

## In the Southeast

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast Regional Secretary, reported that 1954 was a year of great challenge for the NAACP in the South, due in large part to the Supreme Court decision holding segregated schools to be unconstitutional. To help implement the decision, branch presidents were called together and given pertinent information and instructions on desegregation procedures on the local level.

Political action was a focal point during 1954, an election year. Special effort was made to get large numbers of Negroes registered and out to vote in Tennessee, where there was race-baiting in the campaigns for governor and senator; in Georgia, where the same situation obtained and where the private school amendment to defy the Supreme Court decision was an issue; and in Mississippi, where Senator Eastland campaigned on a platform of defiance of the Supreme Court, and an amendment designed to disfranchise Negroes was to be voted upon.

The Southeast office received several complaints concerning Negroes who had applied for but were refused jobs under civil service. A conference was obtained with the director of the Fifth Civil Service Commission in Atlanta, who agreed from the evidence presented that discrimination appeared to exist. The director personally investigated one case and offered suggestions for handling future cases.

Information was sent to branches relative to the need for employees in nearby government installations; the branches were urged to encourage Negroes to apply for such jobs.

## Intimidation in Dixie

Organized intimidation in the South came to the fore in the last months of the year. Earlier in 1954 there were organized the American States Rights Association, the Southerners in Alabama, the National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the White Race, the National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of the White People in Georgia, and the Florida States Rights, Inc.

The White Citizens Councils in Mississippi, organized later in 1954, proposed to apply economic pressures to any person who advocates compliance with the Supreme Court school decision or who speaks or acts for Negro citizenship rights. The NAACP is, of

course, the principal source of the Councils, and pressures were felt by several officials in Mississippi. By year's end Citizens Councils were being organized in many counties in Alabama and in Georgia. The membership of the Councils is limited to white males.

Some suggestions for combating the Citizens Councils were sent by the Southeast office to branches in the region. It was urged that the branches recognise economic pressure as a two-edged sword and, accordingly, use their money to their own advantage. In this category were included withdrawing money from banks and insurance companies with large Negro patronage but which have a double standard of protection based on race, and, stopping the purchase of food and merchandise from stores which do not respect Negroes as customers.

Branches were asked to obtain for the Southeast office information relating to the persons who are active in the Councils, as well as those on whom the pressure is being applied. The office made contact with selected labor unions in the affected region and was promised support from a number of them. The office also asked the Southeast Regional Legal Redress Committee to determine where there are legal violations in the sense of a conspiracy to deprive persons of civil rights.

Mrs. Hurley reported after a personal investigation that in the face of this new threat there has been no evidence of cringing on the part of NAACP people in Mississippi; once more the challenge has been accepted and the decision to face the foe has been made.

## FBI Called

The FBI was called by the Southeast Office to investigate a number of situations in Mississippi. Included were Belzoni, where Negroes were denied the right to vote; Amite County, where a group of white men, the sheriff among them, walked into a branch meeting demanding the books and subsequently arrested the branch treasurer on a false charge of drawing a rifle on the deputy; the Delta, where a pregnant wife and her nine-months-old child were held illegally by a plantation owner.

On November 6, five hundred persons shared in a testimonial dinner sponsored by the South Carolina State Conference of Branches for Judge J. Waties Waring, in Charleston, S.C. A bronze plaque was presented to the judge on which was inscribed:

"He set the stage for tearing asunder the fetters of racial in-

feriority inhumanely imposed upon certain children and the removal of the curse of racial superiority cruelly blighting the lives of other children, thus making possible — for the first time — an unhampered sense of belonging and brotherhood, and the full opportunity for every American child to experience true democracy in everyday living."

The number of individual cases which came to the attention of the Southeast office increased by a third in 1954 over the previous year. They ranged from accidents to killings by law enforcement officers. Every complaint either was investigated by the Regional Secretary or referred to the branch nearest the locale where the problem arose.

The Regional Secretary traveled some 16,000 miles during the year, to conduct investigations, to meet with branches, executive committees, state conferences, women's organizations, churches, schools, colleges and other groups, and to appear on a number of radio programs.

## The New Frontier

The West long has been storied as the land of freedom and opportunity. The West Coast region, with headquarters in San Francisco, is dedicated to making this noble vision a reality. The westward migration which began on the eve of World War II has increased the Negro population of the western states manifold. With that population shift, inequalities, previously obscure, have emerged into the open.

Racial residential segregation is the general rule in all cities and towns of the Far West. Kept apart in this artificial manner, western American citizens are being taught to mistrust, even to hate, each other. Accordingly, the West Coast office was active in developing ways and means, and in filing suits where necessary, to end housing segregation.

In an effort to prevent the continued creation of all-white communities, the western office, headed by Franklin H. Williams, filed suit in the Superior Court of Sacramento County, Calif., challenging the refusal of private developers to sell new housing to Negroes. In this case, *Ming vs. Horgan*, suit was filed against every builder, contractor and realtor in the county, including the entire membership of the real estate board. The suit, filed on behalf of Oliver Ming, a World War II veteran, charges the defendants with a monopoly extended to them by the National Housing Act. This represents the

first such challenge to the pattern of race discrimination in private housing in the United States and promises to have significant results.

### "[illegible] Pattern" Housing

In 1953 the West Coast office attacked in the courts the so-called "neighborhood pattern policy" maintained by the San Francisco Housing Authority in all permanent low-cost housing, and in 1954 the NAACP view was upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court. The housing authority followed a policy of assigning tenants to public housing units on the basis of race rather than need. The NAACP case, *Banks vs. Housing Authority of San Francisco*, successful in the Superior Court of San Francisco and at each appellate level in the California courts, was appealed by the housing authority to the U. S. Supreme Court. One week following the May 17 decision on schools, the Supreme Court denied the petition for review, thus establishing as the law of California that no technique will be recognized as valid which is designed to separate public housing tenants solely on the basis of race.

In other situations of segregation in California public housing the West Coast office worked for integration with varying degrees of success, and undertook also to insure that Negro tenants, removed from their former premises because of an urban redevelopment plan or the demise of Lanham Act (temporory public) housing,. would be integrated into the total community.

To inform both white and Negro builders of steps necessary to realise true integration of a private housing development, the West Coast office undertook an educational program. The marketing techniques necessary to insure integrated private housing were submitted to a number of builders and discussed with some personally. It was found that many builders of both races were anxious to avoid the criticism of building new ghettos.

It was necessary for the NAACP to intervene in a number of houing situations where violence was imminent or actual because Negro families had moved into a formerly all-white neighborhood. In one such circumstance in Compton, Calif., the West Coast office curbed developing tension by scheduling an initial public meeting addressed by members of the police department and subsequent meetings with eminent sociologists as speakers.

### Color and Jobs in the West

Only two far western states, Oregon and Washington, have fair employment practices laws. Not one city or town in the western

region has an effective fair employment ordinance although Negro job-seekers and job-holders need the protection of fair employment practices legislation against the color line in industry. In preparation for a statewide FEPC campaign in California in 1955, branches throughout the state were provided with forms for a survey of the status of Negro job opportunities in their respective communities; in at least one community, Pasadena, the services of sociology students from the local college were obtained to assist in the survey.

During the year the West Coast office participated in more than fifteen hearings involving Negro civil service personnel in the region, and processed many more complaints charging discrimination on civil service jobs. A clear pattern on discrimination was proved in several instances. An opinion issued by the Attorney General of the State of California, in response to an NAACP request, concluded that ". . . appointments and transfers of public employees must be made upon an individual basis, irrespective of race or color."

In the field of public employment, the West Coast office continued its efforts to end segregation in the fire department of several municipalities. These included Los Angeles, Bakersfield, Oakland and Seattle.

The Washington State Board Against Discrimination finally settled the charge presented to them more than two years ago involving the discriminatory employment practices of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The settlement included pledges by the railroad that it would not refuse to hire or promote any persons because of race, creed, color or national origin, and that it would instruct all persons responsible for hiring employees to comply with the Washington State law against discrimination in employment.

### Racism in Western Classrooms

Only Arizona of the West Coast region maintained racial segregation in its public schools by law, but a measure of segregation has crept ino the schools of a dozen or more cities and towns of the Far West. The West Coast office was successful in securing a judgment that racial segregation in Arizona's high schools is not permissible, but segregation in grade schools in some Arizona cities still was practiced during the school year, 1953-54.

When efforts of the West Coast office to end school segregation in Pasadena, Calif., brought the local board of education up against court action in 1954, the board capitulated and ordered integration. For twenty-seven years school segregation was maintained in Pasa-

dena, by a system of "free transfers" and "neutral zones" to enable white parents to [redacted] children to "white" schools.

A twenty-year-old case of school segregation was reopened in 1954 when the regional office surveyed the assignment of white and Negro children in the elementary schools of El Centro, Calif. The survey showed that white children were being transported past nearby schools in buses provided by the school district: white children living in one school zone were permitted to transfer to "white" schools in another zone on the other side of town. The gerrymandering of zone lines was clearly evident, and Negro teachers were confined to the faculties of Washington and Douglas schools.

The West Coast office called a public hearing on the El Centro school situation. School officials present at the meeting admitted to segregation practices. With this further evidence, recommendations were made to the El Centro school administrators, who steadfastly refused to acknowledge or reply to the NAACP communications. At year's end, the El Centro school situation was referred to legal counsel for action, with a lawsuit contemplated for early in 1955.

In more than thirteen communities throughout the seven Far West states, Negro teachers were employed for the first time in the history of the respective school districts.

## Schools for Voters

One of the major parts of the West Coast program in 1954, as in past years, was the direction of voters' schools, registration drives, and get-out-the-vote campaigns. Non-partisans voters' schools, dealing with such matters as eligibility for registration, time for registration, and absentee voting were established and conducted in eleven communities.

In further political activity, the voting records of senators running for reelection and the position on proposed federal civil rights bills of candidates for the U. S. Senate not previously holding such office, were [redacted] for all branches in the seven Far West states. Other material on political activity distributed to branches included an outline for a year-round local legislative program and methods to influence public officeholders.

The West Coast office set up the machinery for a statewide California campaign for the enactment of FEPC legislation in 1955, and, in conjunction with other civil rights groups, organized a California Committee for FEPC.

## Legal Redress

During 1954 the West Coast office counseled with approximately 100 persons confined in prisons for various types of offenses. In a few cases the charge of racial discrimination or denial of constitutional rights was sufficiently accurate to warrant intervention. In one such case the office took over the task of obtaining freedom for George Holman, convicted of setting fire to a San Francisco hotel in 1944. Several applications for parole filed on Holman's behalf have been denied as well as an application for executive clemency. The office is convinced of the innocence of this man, and will continue its legal work on his behalf during 1955.

In a number of municipalities, including Seattle, San Francisco, Sacramento and Stockton, the NAACP filed charges of police brutality with the proper authorities. In at least two communities it was necessary to institute direct legal action for damages against the policemen involved in the assaults. The most severe case was that of Lucius Meadows, a Negro resident of Stockton, Calif. Arrested while unconscious from illness as a suspected drunk, Meadows was hurled into a patrol wagon and subsequently dragged from the van and thrown into a jail cell. After he had remained in an unconscious state for sixteen hours he was removed to a hospital where he died of head injuries caused when he was dragged from the police van. The case was presented in the form of a resolution to the Stockton City Council asking for dismissal of the responsible policemen and other steps to prevent further such occurrences. At the close of the year the Council had taken no action, and suit was filed by the West Coast office against the responsible police officers on behalf of Meadows' heirs.

A case involving the validity of a lower court judgment which granted custody of minor children to a white father solely because their white mother remarried a Negro was pressed to the highest court of the State of Washington. The Association was successful in overthrowing the lower court ruling in this case, *Lesser vs. Lesser*.

The first case utilizing the 1953-enacted and NAACP-sponsored Oregon civil rights statute was brought in 1954 on behalf of Godfrey Ibom, a Nigerian exchange student attending Portland State College. It was charged that a Portland restaurant refused service to Ibom because of his race. In an out-of-court settlement, the restaurant owner paid a fine and gave public assurance that he would not discriminate in the future.

During 1954 Frankin H. Williams, West Coast Regional Secre-

tary-Counsel, [illegible] miles to meet with NAACP and other groups, to [illegible] counsel, and to appear on radio and television programs.

The Southeast regional office in Dallas, Texas, was without an executive head until the end of the year.

## Youth at the Helm

The program and goals of the NAACP are receiving increasing attention from America's young adult population. In 1954, more than 17,000 teen-agers and young adults participated in the work of the Association through 250 youth councils and college chapters throughout the nation. The work of these young people was guided and coordinated by Herbert L. Wright, Youth Secretary.

Mr. Wright devoted a large portion of his time to helping branches set up local youth work committees in order to expand the total youth program. A large number of new youth councils and college chapters was established during the year as the result of this effort.

The most important project sponsored by the Youth and College Division in 1954 was the first annual National Youth Legislative Conference, held on the campus of Howard University in Washington, D.C., January 28-31. More than three hundred of the nation's young people, fourteen to twenty-five years of age, participated in this conference. The conference objective was three-fold: to inform America's youth of the specific social, economic and political problems confronting our nation; to encourage the participation of large numbers of young people in the civil and political affairs of their respective communities; and, to help prepare young people for more effective citizenship participation.

In another national gathering, approximately 120 youth and college delegates attended the Association's annual convention in Dallas, in June, and took part in workshops dealing with the NAACP program.

The [illegible]'s faculty integration project met with growing success during the year when three persons on a list of eligible Negro faculty members secured employment at colleges which had had only token representation of Negro members or no representation at all.

## New Airlines Project

An airlines integration project was initiated by the youth division in February. Qualified young Negro women were urged to apply to

American Airlines, United Airlines, Trans-World Airlines and Pan American Airways for employment as airline stewardesses. The Youth Secretary met with personnel officers of American Airlines to discuss the integration of Negroes into all phases of American's operations.

The youth division again was the recipient of four scholarships to the Encampment for Citizenship, held at the Fieldston School, Riverdale, New York, and, in addition, was granted a scholarship to the Experiment in International Living European project.

Youth councils and college chapters were active in attempts to break down discrimination in their communities and to carry out all aspects of the NAACP program.

The *Chicago* youth council conducted a voter registration project which resulted in a twenty per cent increase in voting over the previous year in project areas.

The *Yale University* chapter, after having conducted a housing survey, presented the survey results and recommendations for the elimination of restricted Negro neighborhoods in New Haven to the New Haven Housing Board.

The *Bucknell University* chapter furnished workers for day camps for the children of migrant workers, established for the first time in Pennsylvania.

The *San Antonio, Tex.*, youth council sponsored the dramatization of "Fire of Freedom" in the city's amphitheater. More than 1,000 persons attended the first interracial gathering ever held in that amphitheater.

## The Field Staff

The field staff for 1954 included Donald Jones, Bernard Brown, Mildred L. Bond, John W. Flamer, Gertrude Gorman, Robert W. Saunders, Charles A. McLean, Lester P. Bailey and Tarea Pittman. Added to the field staff during the latter part of the year were Charles W. Greenlea (assigned in October to work primarily in the State of Georgia), Edwin C. Washington, Jr. (assigned in November to the Southwest region), Madison S. Jones (who returned from leave in November), and Medgar W. Evers (assigned in December to the State of Mississippi).

*Lester P. Bailey:* With headquarters in the West Coast Regional Office in San Francisco, Mr. Bailey concerned himself with public relations and community civil rights issues, as well as coordination of branches in the south and southwest areas of the region.

*CLARENCE MITCHELL, left, Director of Washington Bureau, explains NAACP legislative program to Vice President Richard Nixon at National Youth Legislative Conference in Washington, January 28-31, as Edward R. Dudley, Special Assistant for the Fight for Freedom Fund, and Herbert Wright, Youth Secretary, look on.*

*Mildred L. Bond:* Joining the staff at the beginning of the year, Miss Bond devoted all her time to conducting major membership campaigns in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Mich., and Baltimore, Md. A few weeks were spent in Arkansas during July and August assisting branches in the filing of petitions in connection with school desegregation.

*Bernard Brown:* Prior to his resignation in September, Mr. Brown [illegible] activities of branches in Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, [illegible]ka, Colorado, Montana, South Dakota and Wyoming. Among the major membership campaigns conducted by Mr. Brown were St. Louis and Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kans.

*John W. Flamer:* The Tri-State area office under the direction of Mr. Flamer is located in Philadelphia. This office supervises activities of branches in the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey

and Delaware. In addition to conducting membership campaigns throughout the Tri-State area, Mr. Flamer conducted workshops on Fight for Freedom Fund activities, assisted the Wilmington and Sussex County, Del., branches in the school integration program, and reorganized dormant branches within the area.

*Gertrude Gorman:* Membership campaigns conducted by Miss Gorman included Charleston and Bluefield, W. Va., Muskegon, Mich., Chattanooga, Tenn., Youngstown, Ohio, and Chicago. She also spent a few weeks visiting and assisting branches in Ohio, Michigan and Indiana in connection with membership and program activities.

*Donald Jones:* Mr. Jones, regional secretary of the Tri-State area including Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia coordinated the work of the branches within this area. Among the larger campaigns conducted by him were Cincinnati and Columbus. In collaboration with local officers and committees he drafted plans for campaigns throughout the entire area. New branches were organized and dormant branches were reactivated.

*Charles McLean:* Working primarily in the State of North Carolina, Mr. McLean conducted membership campaigns in key cities in the state, assisted branches in their activities, reorganized dormant branches, and organized a number of new branches and youth councils.

*Tarea Pittman:* Assigned to the Far West region, with headquarters in San Francisco, Mrs. Pittman concerned herself primarily with youth work, membership campaigns, and branch coordination in northern and central areas of the region.

*Robert Saunders:* Working primarily in the State of Florida, Mr. Saunders organized a number of new branches and youth councils in the state, and conducted campaigns in West Palm Beach, Miami and Tampa.

*Special Field Worker:* Miss L. Pearl Mitchell was again employed on a part-time basis to conduct membership campaigns in Dallas and Cleveland. As a result of Miss Mitchell's efforts, the membership of the Dallas branch was increased to 4,366, compared to 191 in 1953. The Cleveland campaign netted the branch 8,110 members.

## State and Regional Conferences

A total of thirty-five conferences on the state regional levels was held in 1954 under the direction of the Department of Branches.

Regional leadership training conferences, devoted to workshops and discussions on the NAACP program, were held as follows:

Southeast Region, January 26 to 28, Savannah, Ga.

Midwest Region, April 2 to 4, Louisville, Ky.

Midwest Region, April 23 to 25, Omaha, Neb.

Eastern Region, April 9 and 10, New York City

West Coast Region, Oct. 15 to 17, Asilomar, Calif.

Meetings of the state conferences of branches were held as follows:

| *State* | *Date* | *Site* |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama | November 12-14 | Selma |
| Arkansas | October 22-24 | Little Rock |
| Florida | May 7-9 | Orlando |
| Georgia | December 3-5 | Atlanta |
| Illinois | October 22-24 | Joliet |
| Indiana | October 1-3 | Gary |
| Iowa | October 30-31 | Ottumwa |
| Kansas | October 17-18 | Kansas City |
| Kentucky | April 23-25 | Lexington |
| Louisiana | October 29-30 | Ferriday |
| Maryland | May 22 | Baltimore |
| Michigan | May 21-23 | Kalamazoo |
| Mississippi | November 5-7 | Jackson |
| Missouri | October 8-10 | Charleston |
| New England Regional | April 24-25 | New Britain, Conn. |
| New Jersey | June 5-6 | Atlantic City |
| | September 25 | Trenton |
| New Mexico | November 5-7 | Roswell |
| New York | May 21-22 | Amityville |
| North Carolina | October 15-17 | Lumberton |
| Ohio | September 17-19 | Warren |
| Oklahoma | November 18-19 | Idabel |
| Pennsylvania | September 24-26 | Harrisburg |
| South Carolina | October 15-17 | Spartanburg |
| Tennessee | October 29-31 | Nashville |
| Texas | October 22-24 | Waco |
| Virginia | October 8-10 | Martinsville |
| West Virginia | September 17-19 | Beckley |
| Wisconsin | October 9-10 | Milwaukee |

## III

# "IT IS SO ORDERED"

### *Report of the Legal Department*

Inspired by the precedent-shattering May 17th decision of the United States Supreme Court invalidating segregation in public education, the Legal Department pursued with renewed vigor and determination its announced objective of eradicating racial segregation and discrimination from all public institutions, facilities and services. In its program of litigation for 1954, the Department had set specific goals in six fields — education, employment, health, housing, recreation and transportation.

Working under direction of Thurgood Marshall, the Association's Special Counsel, the Department made significant progress towards the long range objective and succeeded in attaining some of the specific goals set for the year. There remained, however, the dual problem of consolidating gains and, at the same time, planning for the future. Meanwhile, under sustained attack by the NAACP, the hard core of bigotry, resisting every forward trend of democracy, was being whittled down in size but becoming more consolidated, more determined and more ruthless.

During the week-end of May 22-23, following the Supreme Court's unanimous decision of May 17, NAACP representatives from 17 southern and border states gathered in Atlanta where they formulated the Atlanta Declaration. Calling for early implementation of the decision, the Declaration asserted:

> "We stand ready to work with other law-abiding citizens who are anxious to translate this decision into a program of action to eradicate racial segregation in public education as speedily as possible.
>
> "We are instructing all of our branches in every affected area to petition their local school boards to abolish segregation without delay and to assist these agencies in working out ways and means of implementing the Court's ruling."*

* See Appendix for full text.

*INTEGRATED HIGH SCHOOL CLASS in West Virginia city following Supreme Court decision of May 17.*

## Desegregation Begins in 8 States

When the new school year began in September, local communities in eight states, including Arkansas, opened their school doors to Negro and white children alike for the first time. Washington desegregated its schools as did Baltimore. St. Louis and Kansas City and a score of other cities in Missouri initiated desegregation programs. Twelve counties in West Virginia completely integrated their schools and 17 others partially desegregated. Compliance with the Court's ruling also proceeded in Delaware and in the permissive states of Arizona, New Mexico and Kansas.

There were demonstrations of defiance in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia; Milford, Delaware; and in certain schools in Baltimore and Washington. These instances were investigated by social scientists serving with an NAACP volunteer committee. According to their findings, these outbursts were adult-instigated and involved purely local [illegible]; they in no way invalidated the NAACP contention that [illegible] schools can be desegregated without delay provided [illegible] intelligent, steadfast leadership in the community.

Three education specialists, Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, Vernon McDaniel and Loftus Carson were employed to help implement the Court's decision on the local level. After training in the New York office and at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., together with other staff field workers, they were assigned to Arkansas, North

Carolina and West Virginia to work with local NAACP branches, church groups, labor organizations and other groups and to give professional assistance to local school boards in efforts to facilitate, wherever possible, peaceful desegregation without legal action.

## Victories in Other Fields

While the historic May 17th ruling loomed as the year's most significant achievement in the drive to eliminate considerations of race and caste from American life, it was by no means the only meaningful victory won by the NAACP lawyers. Other cases in the fields of public education, housing, recreation and transportation were brought to a successful conclusion.

Three undergraduate colleges in Louisiana and a Texas junior college accepted Negro students for the first time in 1954 as a result of suits prosecuted by NAACP attorneys. There were also successfully concluded cases challenging Jim Crow public housing projects in San Francisco, in Camden and Elizabeth, New Jersey, and in Detroit and Hamtramck, Michigan.

Decisions in still other NAACP cases required a private amusement park in Cincinnati and public recreational facilities in Atlanta, Houston, Louisville, Nashville and the Oklahoma state parks system to cease excluding Negro citizens.

Also, in the omnibus transportation suit brought before the Interstate Commerce Commission on behalf of the NAACP, its staff and a number of individual complainants, an ICC trial examiner recommended that the Commission issue an order decreeing the discontinuance of racial segregation on railway coaches and in railroad waiting rooms.

There were legal victories in areas not covered in the specific goals outlined at the beginning of the year. In one case, the Supreme Court reversed the conviction of a destitute Negro sentenced to death on a rape charge in Birmingham. In another case a lower federal court ruled that certain discriminatory voting registration procedures utilized by Bullock County, Alabama, officials were unconstitutional. These two decisions highlight the fact that the NAACP job is far more than to expand the law. It also has the responsibility to assure the enjoyment and unrestricted exercise of rights already clearly defined as being constitutionally protected.

## Non-Legal Gains

All gains [redacted] were not produced as a result of litigation. For, as a [redacted] Legal Department's community education program and the dissemination of technical information to local lawyers and community organizations, additional breaks in the color line were made. In Chester, Willow Grove and York, Pa., and in several communities in Kansas, Delaware, West Virginia, Maryland, Missouri and Arkansas, desegregation in public schools became a reality. Furthermore, public recreation facilities were desegregated in a half dozen or more Texas communities. Private and parochial elementary, secondary and collegiate institutions accepted Negro students, even in states such as Oklahoma and Tennessee which made it a criminal offense for private schools to operate on a non-segregated basis.

Although these achievements give some insight into the 1954 activities, they alone did not set the tempo or the tone for the entire year's work. In public housing, for instance, not only was the volume of litigation increased, but new aspects of the housing problem were attacked. The right of a federal agency to contribute money toward the erection of public housing projects designed for white tenants solely was questioned in a suit brought in Savannah. The refusal of a private building contractor to sell homes to Negroes when the construction of such housing is insured by the Federal Housing Administration was contested in a Shreveport, La. case. Also, the right of Negro on-the-site-tenants (displaced by a Birmingham slum clearance and redevelopment project) to unsegregated relocation in federally-aided public housing was raised in still another case.

## Jim Crow in Recreation Banned

In the field of public recreation, staff counsel sought to expand the thrust of the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases. They prepared and had pending at year's end four cases in a federal appellate court and a state trial court which raise this issue. Two of these cases involved bathing facilities in Maryland state parks [redacted] concerned municipal golf courses in Atlanta and Charlotte.

New problems were raised as by-products of litigation and field activities directed against discrimination in public schools. The Department anticipated that a favorable decision in the school segregation cases would give rise to a variety of new problems, such as the enforcement and implementation of the decision itself and the protec-

tion of Negro teachers in their jobs. However, a decision which declared the right not be segregated in public schools yet withheld affirmative relief, pending further reargument before the Supreme Court on this question, had not been expected.

## Reargument Prepared

Preparation of the brief on further reargument began in June. Again a group of lawyers, educators, sociologists and psychologists was assembled for a series of conferences. Specific research assignments were given staff members and consultants. These research memoranda were evaluated and revised by the entire group. Finally, this material was compressed into the brief which was filed in November.

Problems of implementation, enforcement and protection, on the other hand, were also faced up to. The scope and substance of the over-all program had to be modified in view of the absence of a mandate in the May 17 decision. Major emphasis was transferred to general community education plus professional assistance to local school boards.

Legal techniques and theories were tested during this interim period also. A case was brought before the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination to find out whether a school board, prohibited from operating segregated schools, is required to maintain maximum integration. Two cases, one in Delaware and the other in Ohio, were brought to determine whether a local school board can order re-segregation after it had actually enrolled Negro pupils on a non-discriminatory basis. Staff attorneys also participated in a Tennessee case which protected the job rights of a Negro school teacher discharged because his superiors foresaw that he would soon be teaching white pupils.

The nature, quality and scope of the work of the Legal Department during 1954 have been indicated. However, a more definite index to the volume of legal work is provided by the following statistics: NAACP lawyers participated in more than 100 judicial and administrative proceedings. Ten briefs were prepared in cases brought to the Supreme Court of the United States. Another ten were submitted to state supreme courts and federal courts of appeals. The number of pleadings, motions and memoranda of law prepared and filed far exceeded the 100-plus proceedings in which these lawyers were involved.

## Ten Major Criminal Cases

During 1954 [redacted] counsel were involved in ten criminal cases. Six of these cases were applications for writs of certiorari before the U. S. Supreme Court. The remainder were in various state courts.

In the *Brown v. Baldi* and *Dukes v. Hanna* cases the U. S. Supreme Court was asked to review denials of habeas corpus by state courts in extradition cases. In *Brown v. Baldi*, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania had ordered that Brown be returned to Georgia to serve out a sentence of life imprisonment for homicide. The NAACP resisted this judgment on the ground that, because of his race, Brown had been effectively denied access to the courts of Georgia by Georgia prison authorities who subjected him to cruel and inhuman punishment whenever he had sought to have his conviction reviewed.

The case presented an opportunity to apply the dictum which the Supreme Court announced in *Sweeney v. Woodall* to the effect that habeas corpus would be available in an extradition case where there was a showing that the petitioner had been denied access to courts in the demanding state. Moreover, the State of Georgia appeared both at the hearings and the appeals entered in the Pennsylvania courts (this being one of the few times that a demanding state has ever intervened in proceedings held in an asylum state).

A similar situation was involved in the case of *Dukes v. Hanna*. Here again the demanding State was Georgia. Dukes, who had been convicted at the age of 17 of a number of larcenies without the aid of counsel and other aspects of due process, sought to resist his return to the Georgia prison on the ground that he had suffered cruel and inhuman treatment at the hands of prison authorities. The asylum state in this case, however, was New Jersey. But the New Jersey courts, like the Pennsylvania courts, had refused to issue an order which would have prevented his being returned to Georgia.

The Groveland case, *Irvin v. Florida*, was again before the Supreme [redacted] 1951. This time a review of the conviction of Irvin on the retrial of his case that had been previously ordered by the Supreme Court was sought. The application for certiorari was denied by the Supreme Court in January and a petition for rehearing was immediately filed, urging that the totality of errors on the record as a whole, including the introduction of evidence gained by an unlawful search and seizure and the inclusion of evidence which the NAACP lawyers sought to introduce in order to

show that Irvin could not get a fair trial in the county where the case was tried, combined to deny him due process of law.

In February, one month later, the petition for rehearing was denied. Thereafter, petitions seeking clemency were addressed to the Governor of Florida and they were also denied. When the Governor of Florida thereafter signed a warrant setting the date for Irvin's execution, an application for a writ of habeas corpus was filed with the Supreme Court of Florida on November 4, and an opinion denying this return was issued a day later. A stay of his execution was granted by Justice Black of the Supreme Court on November 6 and a petition for writ of certiorari was filed in the Supreme Court on November 19.

A petition for a writ of certiorari to review a state court's refusal to grant habeas corpus was also involved in the case of *Jones v. Balkcom*. Here the petitioner, a Negro youth, had been convicted of the crime of rape and had been sentenced to death. The record in this case showed, without contradiction, that he had not been adequately represented by counsel. The Supreme Court of the United States on March 8 denied the application for a writ of certiorari to review the Georgia court's refusal.

In the case of *Alexander v. Texas*, counsel associated in the preparation of a brief amicus curiae filed with the U. S. Supreme Court in support of a petition for writ of certiorari. Petitioner in this case, a white labor union organizer, had been closely identified with community action to improve the lot of Negro workers. He was convicted on an assortment of trumped-up charges. The amicus brief on his behalf argued that the conviction was without due process of law because of the systematic exclusion of Negroes from the jury panel in the county in which he was tried, and it pointed out that this point had not been squarely met by the court.

A reversal of a death sentence was won by the NAACP in the case of *Reeves v. Alabama*. Reeves, a 17-year-old Negro youth, had been convicted of rape and sentenced to death. The facts of the case showed that Negroes had been systematically excluded from juries in Montgomery County, Ala., that the chief of the reserve local police force served on the jury and the judge refused to declare a mistrial when his presence was revealed, and that various inculpatory statements introduced into evidence by the state had been illegally wrung from the accused after he had been subjected to physical and psychological coercion. On December 7 the Supreme Court reversed Reeves' conviction for rape, setting aside the verdict

in a memorandum opinion which cited certain precedents which indicate that the reversal was based on the forced confession point.

*Higgs v. Con[illegible]souri v. Bradford, Texas v. Mathis*, and *Texas v. Roseborough* were cases brought before state courts.

In the Higgs case an appeal was taken from his conviction of a rape which occurred in Stamford, Conn. On appeal, it was alleged that the judge of the trial court and the conduct of the trial in general was so highly prejudicial that Higgs had been deprived of that fair trial guaranteed under due process of law.

Bradford was convicted on the charge of raping a white woman. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of Missouri and this conviction was reversed on the ground that it had been obtained through the use of a coerced confession. Interestingly, the coercion used in this case was psychological rather than physical.

*Texas v. Roseborough* involved a retrial of a young Negro charged with raping a white woman. His original conviction for this crime had been reversed by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals several years ago as a result of an appeal taken on his behalf by NAACP attorneys. After this reversal the state made no attempt to retry Roseborough and continued to hold the defendant in custody. Staff counsel then moved that the retrial be held forthwith. At the hearing on this motion it was announced that the state was not prepared to go to trial and the court ordered that the defendant be released from custody because of the state's unreadiness.

Mathis was another young Texas Negro charged with rape. Aside from facts which indicated his innocence, NAACP counsel were persuaded to intervene in this case at trial in order to challenge the jury system in Ellis County, Texas. Thus, a motion to quash his indictment was filed along with supporting papers which showed that no Negro has ever served on the Grand Jury in this county which has a population of 45,000 persons, one-seventh of whom are Negroes.

### Seven Education Cases

Seven education cases were considered by the Supreme Court of the United States during 1954. Four of these were combined as the celebrated school segregation cases which the Supreme Court decided on May 17th, holding that racial segregation in public schools was

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* For full text of opinion see Appendix.

prohibited by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In its opinion* the Court concluded:

> ". . . that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

But this opinion did not entirely dispose of these cases. For the Court ordered further reargument on the question of the kind of decree which it should issue. The NAACP brief on further reargument on the questions relating to the character and enforcement of the Court's decree was filed on November 15. Answering questions posed by the Court, this brief argued that only a decree requiring desegregation by September, 1955, would discharge judicial responsibility for the vindication of the constitutional rights of Negro children to non-segregated schools.

In support of this position, both legal and social science authorities were relied upon. Responding to the Court's question as to the type of decree which would be acceptable in the event the Court decided to permit a gradual desegregation to take place, the NAACP brief held that such a decree should provide certain minimal protections, including: (1) direction that desegregation be commenced immediately; (2) that periodic progress reports be filed by the school authorities; (3) that September, 1956, be set as the ultimate date for the completion of desegregation; (4) that there be no extension of this outer time limit; and (5) that all Negro children be immediately admitted to non-segregated schools in the event that school authorities fail to comply with any of the above provisions.

On November 22, the Court announced that oral argument would be indefinitely postponed because of the lack of a full Court.

On the Monday following the May 17th decision, the Supreme Court disposed of three other school cases which had been brought up to it by staff attorneys — *Board of Supervisors of Louisiana State University v. Tureaud, Florida ex rel. Hawkins v. Board of Control* and *Hardin Junior College v. Battle.*

In the first two cases the Court had been asked to review judgments which sustained the exclusion of Negro students from state controlled institutions of higher education in Louisiana and Florida, respectively. The Supreme Court, in each case, vacated the judgment below and remanded it for reconsideration in light of the May 17th decision. In the Tureaud case, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the

Fifth Circuit eventually remanded it to the district court for further proceedings after holding the case until after the 1954-55 university term began.

On remand of the University of Florida case to the Supreme Court of the state, further pleadings were filed seeking an order directing the university authorities to admit the Negro petitioner or to show cause for their refusal to do so. Defendant's answer was filed, after some delay, in November and the case was standing ready for trial as of December 31.

The third case disposed of by the Supreme Court on May 24, was *Hardin Junior College v. Battle*. Here, the school officials were denied their petition for a writ of certiorari to review a decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit which upheld the right of Negro students to admission to the Junior College located at Wichita Falls, Texas.

Three interesting cases arose out of efforts to extend and enforce the substance of the May 17th decision. In *Simmons v. Steiner*, suit was filed in a Delaware chancery court seeking an injunction to restrain the Milford, Del., school board's action in ordering Negro children to withdraw from the local high school. The defendants had decided to admit Negro children to the school but had issued the order complained of in the wake of community reaction to their decision. The chancery court issued an injunction as prayed for and defendants took an appeal to the Supreme Court of Delaware which was argued in December.

In neighboring New Jersey, the case of *Anderson v. Englewood School Board* was filed with the State Division Against Discrimination on behalf of Negro pupils and parents. The complaint alleged that the local board of education had, by gerrymandering school district lines and the utilization of other devices, preserved a policy of maintaining racially segregated schools. SDAD investigated, found substantial bases for the complaint, and sought to have the local board amend its policy.

When the local board refused to do so, formal proceedings were initiated before the quasi judicial branch of SDAD. Hearings were subsequently held in October and November, at the conclusion of which staff counsel argued, (1) that the evidence clearly supported the charges and (2) that New Jersey law required local school boards to maintain maximum racial pupil and teacher integration, giving due consideration to the physical elements and individual qualifications involved.

In *Clemmons v. Board of Education of Hillsboro, Ohio*, NAACP lawyers sought an injunction to restrain the local school board from enforcing an order which directed a group of Negro elementary school pupils to withdraw from two schools which it had opened on an integrated basis at the beginning of the 1954-55 school term. The federal district court sitting at Cincinnati denied the preliminary relief requested after a hearing and issued an order to continue final disposition of the case until after the Supreme Court had disposed of the remaining issues in the school segregation cases.

An appeal from this judgment, assuming that it was a final decree which was appealed, and an application for mandamus directing the district judge to issue a final appeal of the order in the event that this assumption was in error, were filed with the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. After the court of appeals issued a rule to show cause why mandamus should not be granted, the district judge requested that this petition be dismissed inasmuch as he was vacating his order and setting the case down for further proceedings which would lead to a final disposition. Subsequently, in December, a full hearing was had and the court took the case under advisement pending the submission of briefs by opposing counsel.

## State Universities Sued

The final group of school cases in which staff counsel participated during 1954 involved attempts to secure the admission of Negroes to institutions of higher education in Alabama, Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana. The Alabama case, *Lucy v. Board of Trustees of the University of Alabama*, was filed in 1953 and a federal district court had dismissed the suit. The case was argued before the U. S. Court of Appeals on May 19 and on June 15 this court upheld the lower court's dismissal. Subsequently, further proceedings were entered in the district court seeking in the alternative a reconsideration of the motion to dismiss which it had formerly granted or the entry of a final judgment. As of the close of the year neither request had been disposed of by the district judge.

*Grant v. Taylor* and *Troullier v. Oklahoma State College for Women* were cases brought before federal district courts in Oklahoma seeking the admission of Negro students to a municipally operated junior college at El Reno and to the only state supported college maintained exclusively for women, respectively. Defendants' answer in each case included a motion to dismiss on the ground that the case raised remedial issues identical to those pending before

the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, that the district court lacked jurisdiction pending resolution of these issues by the Supreme Court, and therefore the instant suit was premature.

While awaiting arguments on these points, the district court of its own motion, dismissed the proceedings on the grounds that they were matters for a statutory three-judge court rather than a single federal judge. Appropriate action was immediately taken by staff counsel to advise the district court that a single judge had jurisdiction to hear and determine these cases.

The federal trial courts in Louisiana, unlike those in Alabama and Oklahoma, squarely faced up to the issues on the merits in the cases brought to their attention. In *Combre v. Frazar*, suit was filed seeking the admission of Negroes to the John McNeese State College at Lake Charles, La. This suit was filed in September, and in November the district judge ruled in favor of the plaintiff.

Similarly, in *Constantine v. Fletcher*, a federal district court acting with similar dispatch ordered admission of Negro students to Southwestern Louisiana Institute. The third case brought in the federal courts in Louisiana was *Wells v. Dyson* and it sought to secure the admission of Negroes to Southwestern Louisiana College at Hammond. This case was filed in September, but defendant's answer had not been submitted by the end of the year.

Three cases involving various junior colleges in Texas finally came to trial during 1954. They were originally filed in 1949, but the federal trial courts had not entertained any hearings previously. These cases are *Allen v. Masters* (Kilgore Junior College), and *Bruce v. Stilwell* and *Whitmore v. Stilwell* (Texarkana Junior College). The Kilgore Junior College case was tried in October and the others in November. Ruling in the former case was reserved. In the latter cases, motions to dismiss were granted on the ground that Negro plaintiffs failed to establish their eligibility to attend Texarkana Junior College. An appeal was noted and briefed in these cases but argument had not been calendared by the Court of Appeals as of December 31.

A number of other educational matters were pending at the year's end, including an attempt to open up the University of Mississippi *(Medgar Evers v. University of Mississippi)* and another to resist the conviction of a number of West Point, Va. parents for violating the state compulsory school law on the ground that such law could not be applied against these parents who merely refused to send their

children to segregated schools *(Dobbins v. Commonwealth of Virginia)*.

Other cases which, though filed a year or more ago, were not acted upon by the courts during the year include *Smith v. Thomsen* and *Shipley v. Thomsen* (Baltimore Special High School cases) and *Johnson v. New Castle Special School District* and *Wilson v. Newark Special School District* (Delaware Public School cases).

### Actions to Secure Decent Housing

Of the twelve housing cases in which staff counsel were involved, only one was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. This was the *Housing Authority of San Francisco v. Banks* case which was a petition for a writ of certiorari to review a judgment of the Supreme Court of California barring racial segregation in the public housing projects of San Francisco. Staff counsel joined in urging the Supreme Court to review the case for the purpose of clarifying the law and thereby averting the possibility of continued litigation throughout the country whenever Negroes sought to secure open occupancy housing. On May 24, the Supreme Court denied the petition for certiorari. Though a denial of certiorari has no legal significance, it does permit a lower court's decision to stand. The lower court held that San Francisco's housing authority's enforcement of the so-called "neighborhood pattern policy" plus a racial quota system was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Two suits were initiated in New Jersey state courts seeking to secure open occupancy housing: *Miller v. McComb* which challenged the racial policies and practices of the Camden Housing Authority and *Taylor v. Leonard* which involved the Housing Authority of Elizabeth, N. J. In the latter case, the superior court of Union County ordered the defendants to cease using a quota system or other discrimination in the assignment of Negro applicants for public housing.

Trial in the Miller case was had late in November and the superior court for Camden County issued a preliminary injunction restraining local housing officials from making assignments to projects on the basis of color.

In the case of *Harris v. Clinton* there was an appeal to the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors on behalf of a Negro couple who had been denied specific performance of a contract for the sale of property in a suburb of New Haven. The defendants in the case were the original owners of a lot and they refused to execute a deed

which would have prevented a white couple who had purchased the property from [redacted] it in turn to the Negro couple. This was the second [redacted] case to the Supreme Court of Errors and again staff [redacted] to persuade this court that the judgment against [redacted] violated rights secured them by the Constitution and laws of the United States inasmuch as the refusal to convey was based solely on their race or color.

Four other suits seeking the establishment of open occupancy public housing were brought before federal courts. *Lewis v. Cobo*, originally filed in 1950, finally went to trial, and the Detroit Housing Commission and city officials were ordered to cease enforcing their policy of maintaining segregated housing projects, a decision which the Detroit Commission promptly appealed. The appeal was predicated on a plea for additional time to change the racial policy. The NAACP's answering brief was filed with the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in October.

A decision was finally handed down in *Jones v. City of Hamtramck, Michigan*. This case, like the other Michigan case, had been filed several years ago. But, unlike that case, the local housing authority maintained no segregated housing facilities; it excluded Negroes from the one project which it maintained. This policy was decreed unlawful and, therefore enjoined by the district court in February.

A suit was entered against a third local housing authority in Michigan during the past year. In *Askew v. Benton Harbor Housing Authority*, defendants maintained one housing project limited to white occupancy and another for Negroes exclusively. The NAACP complaint was filed in October and defendants' answers late in December.

The remaining case in the group is *Davis v. St. Louis Housing Authority*. This suit was begun in 1953 and was set for trial early in 1954. However, the defendants contrived a number of delays. Finally, the District Court ordered both sides to enter into a stipulation of facts, and subsequently entertained the motion for summary judgment [redacted] defendants. The motion was argued in October and memoranda [redacted] were submitted a month later. Disposition of this matter was still pending at the close of the year.

## Slum Clearance Bias Challenged

The final group of housing suits developed in 1954 were departures from the traditional type of public housing suit. The first

of these cases, *Heyward v. Public Housing Administration*, was originally filed in the District of Columbia. It was an attempt to restrain the allocation of federal assistance toward the development of a proposed all-white public housing project in Savannah, Ga. The federal trial court dismissed the suit and its action was affirmed by the Court of Appeals solely on the ground that the Savannah Housing Authority should have been brought in as a party.

Because of inability to get the Savannah housing officials before a federal court in Washington, a new suit was filed against them and the federal housing agency in a federal court in Savannah, raising the same substantive questions involved in the earlier suit. Both the federal and local defendants injected a number of technical questions which, although unsubstantial, operated to delay their filing of answers.

The second of this series of cases, *Stewart v. Clark Terrace Unit #1*, sought to establish the right of Negro purchasers to acquire homes in a Shreveport, La., private housing development which had had its construction costs insured by the Federal Housing Administration. Originally, the project had been planned for Negro occupancy and a number of Negroes had signed purchase agreements sealed with substantial down payments. However, local public officials coerced the builder to change the project to an all-white development. Suit was brought against the builder, various local officials and FHA. The facts were stipulated by all parties, and a hearing was held in November. One month later the district court dismissed the suit on the ground that it lacked jurisdiction and could not grant the relief requested.

*Watts v. Housing Authority of Birmingham District*, the third novel suit, involved planned new construction under the urban slum and redevelopment provisions of the federal housing laws. Specifically, the complaint, filed in June, sought enforcement of the right of Negro on-the-site tenants to preferential relocation in existing vacancies in public housing projects maintained for white occupancy only. Various pre-trial procedures were completed and defendants' motion to dismiss argued in October, after which the court took the matter under advisement.

## To End Jim Crow Recreation

Two cases involving racial discrimination in public recreation facilities reached the Supreme Court and were disposed of in 1954. Both were before the Court on petitions for a writ of certiorari.

One was *Beal v. Holcombe*, a case in which the city officials of Houston, Texas, sought review of a lower federal court's order banning the exclusion of Negroes from a municipal golf course. The other, *Muir v. Louisville Park Theatrical Assn.*, involved an NAACP attempt to overturn a judgment which denied Negroes access to a municipal amphitheatre on a non-segregated basis. Both cases were disposed of by the Court on May 24; certiorari was denied in the first case, and the judgment in the latter was vacated and remanded for consideration in the light of the decision in the school segregation cases. In neither case was there a ruling on the merits, but Negroes immediately began to enjoy the advantages of both recreational facilities.

Shortly after these decisions, staff counsel attempted to extend the reach of the May 17th decision to the field of public recreation. Three suits involving bathing facilities at Maryland's Sandy Point and Fort Smallwood State Parks were then pending in the federal district court. A motion was made for judgments on the pleadings. The district judge denied these motions and an appeal involving the first two cases was taken to the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. Briefs were filed with the appellate court in December and staff counsel were notified that oral argument would be heard in January.

Like the Maryland recreation cases, *Holmes v. City of Atlanta* was also carried up to a federal Court of Appeals in an effort to extend the recent decisions of the Supreme Court. The district court had declared that the exclusion of Negroes from an Atlanta municipal golf course did offend the Constitution, and the judge delayed enforcement of the injunction to give defendants "a reasonable opportunity to promptly prepare and put in effect regulations . . . which, while preserving segregation, will be in full and fair accord" with his ruling. The appeal briefs were filed in November.

*Hayes v. Crutcher*, another golf course case, was decided in March. Here a federal district court ordered the Board of Park Commissioners of Nashville, Tenn., to admit Negroes to the municipal links on specified days. The order also provided that its effect would terminate as soon as a segregated course, then under construction, was completed. Jurisdiction was continued over the case meantime. Inasmuch as this order did not finally dispose of the case, no appeal was taken during 1954.

Still other recreation cases were brought in state courts in North Carolina, Oklahoma and Ohio. The North Carolina case, *Leeper v.*

*Charlotte Park and Recreation Commission*, was filed in 1951 in order to open up a public park having golfing and other facilities. Simultaneously, the Negro plaintiffs in this suit along with the heirs of some of the grantors of the land on which the park is located were made defendants in a suit brought by the Park and Recreation Commission to determine the validity and legal force of certain provisions in the conveyances of this property which prescribed that the land would revert to the grantors in the event of its use by non-white persons. Both cases were heard on stipulations of facts in November.

*Simmons v. Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board* was an original action brought before the state supreme court to challenge the legality of a bond issue, part of which was to be used to develop a segregated area in Sequoyah State Park. This action was filed in September. However, before any hearing was had, the board revised its resolution, striking from it all references to the proposed segregated area and all other discriminatory language. Thereupon, the Oklahoma Supreme Court dismissed the case as moot.

The Ohio cases, *Colbert v. Coney Island, Inc.* and *Fletcher v. Coney Island, Inc.*, involved a private amusement park near Cincinnati. Both cases alleged that defendant's policy of refusing to admit Negro patrons violated the state civil rights law. The Colbert case was brought as a class suit and sought injunctive relief. After the trial court entered a dismissal, an appeal was taken to an intermediate appellate court which held (1) that a class suit could not be maintained, but (2) that an injunction would be a proper remedy despite the fact that the civil rights law did not provide for it. This opinion was handed down in January. The Fletcher case was filed a few months thereafter as an individual rather than a class action. In July the trial court issued a permanent injunction, enjoining defendant from denying the plaintiff admission to its facilities for any reason not applicable alike to all citizens, irrespective of their race, color or membership in the NAACP.

## Transportation, Voting and Public Health

Probably one of the most important case developments in 1954 was the case brought on behalf of the NAACP and a number of individual complainants against major railroad carriers. This case was filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission as *NAACP v. St. Louis-San Francisco Ry. Co.* and it questioned the validity of segregated coaches on trains and waiting rooms, rest rooms and

restaurants in the South. Hearings were held on March 3 and July 27-28. On Nov[illegible] trial examiner entered a report which proposed that [illegible] declare illegal all of the practices complained of except the segregated eating facilities. The practices declared illegal were held to subject Negroes to an unreasonable prejudice and disadvantage in violation of the Interstate Commerce Act. The challenged segregated eating facilities were not outlawed on the ground that they were operated by a private lessee from the railroad company rather than the railroad, itself.

The voting case, *Sellars v. Wilson*, arose in Bullock County, Ala. It was filed in the federal district court and tried, by stipulation, solely upon depositions. The relief sought was a declaratory judgment, an injunction and damages against the county board of registrars for refusing to enroll Negro plaintiffs as electors. The district judge declared that defendants' policy and practice of refusing to enroll Negroes offended the Constitution, but no damages were granted on the ground that none was proved and no injunction issued since the defendant members of the board had resigned. However, the court retained jurisdiction and said that it would issue an injunction in the event that any of the defendants again became members of the board.

*Johnson v. Crawfis* was a suit filed in a federal district court in Arkansas to secure the admission of a mentally incompetent Negro child to the State Hospital at Little Rock. The facts showed that the hospital maintained two wards for mentally defective white children and it refused to admit the Negro child on the ground that they could not accommodate him unless he was placed on a segregated ward occupied by adult Negro patients and it would not be proper to place him there. These facts were not disputed and the case was tried in December on staff counsel's motion for summary judgment.

# IV

# THE CAPITOL SCENE

## *Report of the Washington Bureau*

Despite an acceleration of executive action against racial discrimination and segregation, the longstanding legislative stalemate on civil rights measures continued throughout the year of 1954. The Congress remained impervious even to the historic May 17th decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public education. Bottled up in the Rules Committee of the House and deterred by the ever-present threat of a filibuster in the Senate, not a single crucial civil rights bill was presented for debate upon the floor of either House.

Meanwhile, President Eisenhower proceeded surely and steadily to implement his campaign pledges to ban racial discrimination and segregation wherever the federal authority clearly extended. Some of his efforts were impeded, if not sabotaged, by subordinates in the administration who, for one reason or another, sought to retard the pace of the President's clean-up action. Nevertheless, the end of the year saw improvement over the previous year.

Noteworthy progress was made in the elimination of segregation in the armed services and in the Veterans Administration. Efforts to curb discrimination in employment both in the government service and with firms holding government contracts were continued.

Work with the Congress and the Executive Branch of government is the responsibility of the Washington Bureau under the direction of Clarence Mitchell.

### Unity in Defense

The policy of Jim Crow in the armed services was officially ended in 1954. According to a Defense Department report, there were, as of August 31, "no longer any all-Negro units in the services. The few Army units still carrying racial designations in the records include some non-Negro personnel. Where a small unit may be found containing only Negro personnel, the condition is

transient. Where concentrations are encountered, as in the case of Navy stewards, formal barriers do not any longer prevent the transfer of the individual and without regard to race."

One of the [illegible]olved problems in the armed services is continued segregation in some schools on military posts. The President had formally ordered elimination of segregation in all schools on military posts. As a result, the Department of Defense announced in January that all segregation would be ended in such schools by September, 1955. The Truman Administration had ended segregation in all military post schools completely under the control of the Department of Defense, except at Fort Benning, Georgia. This was integrated in September, 1953. Twenty-one other schools were conducted by the Department of Defense in conjunction with local authorities. Of these, the schools at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, were integrated in September. Local educational officials who formerly operated the Fort Belvoir schools refused to do so and the supervision is now directly in the hands of the federal government.

All schools in the Canal Zone, which were previously segregated, were integrated in September. Two new schools, at Fort Myer, Virginia, and Craig Air Force Base, Alabama, opened in the fall on a non-segregated basis.

Despite an anti-segregation directive from the Secretary of Defense, issued on January 12, Naval authorities at the Bainbridge, Maryland, base actually signed an agreement with the Cecil County (Md.) school officials to provide a school for white children only on Navy property. When colored children sought admission to the school, they were denied entrance on the basis of race. At the end of the year, top Naval authorities in Washington were still supporting the Bainbridge policy.

The far-reaching implications of integration were evident when word reached the Washington Bureau that the Navy was distributing 13,000 Jim Crow tickets for the Sugar Bowl Classic in New Orleans. These tickets actually carried a printed statement warning that any users [illegible] members of the Caucasian race would be ejected from the [illegible]. In the case of the Bainbridge school, top Navy officials knew about the embarrassment that this language on the tickets could cause the Government, but apparently they hoped to get away with it. The Secretary of the Navy repudiated the requirement and stated that all holders of tickets distributed by the Navy would be admitted regardless of what was printed on the tickets.

## Government and Jobs

President Eisenhower continued the Committee on Government Contracts and the Federal Fair Employment Board, both initiated by the Truman administration. The Board was established to assure equality of job opportunity within the federal service. The Committee is charged with the responsibility of eliminating job discrimination by private employers working under government contracts. An executive order, issued on September 2, strengthened the nondiscrimination clause required in all contracts entered with the United States Government. Vice President Richard Nixon served as chairman of the Committee.

Unfortunately, this committee was remiss in performing its duties. Two of the major complaints sent to it by the Washington Bureau charging that the Capital Transit Company and the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company refused to hire colored operators remained unresolved. In addition, there was growing unrest throughout the country about the Committee's failure to tackle flagrant cases of job discrimination.

A definite advance in federal policy has been the recognition that physical segregation is discriminatory. The outstanding example of correction in this field is the Navy's halting of civilian segregation in its shore establishments. Many of these are located in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Most of them had segregated drinking fountains, segregated washrooms, and restaurants for whites only. The Truman administration, which had been forthright on many other civil rights matters, had not tackled this problem.

In May, Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, visited the Charleston (S. C.) Navy Yard which was the last holdout. It, too, was completely integrated. As a fitting climax, the chief complainant who first brought the matter of segregation to the Bureau's attention was promoted to a supervisory job at the yard.

That much needs to be done in the field of government employment is evidenced by incredible cases that come to the Bureau's attention. A matter of continuing concern is an unresolved case at the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. The Fair Employment Board ruled that elimination of plate printer apprentice training at the Bureau, under the guise of economy, was in reality a continuation of a previous practice of keeping this occupation for whites only. The Board's decision was suppressed. However, Secretary of the

Treasury George Humphrey informed the NAACP that when new employees are [illegible] in this occupation apprentices who were removed from [illegible] "economy" action would be given first choice of returning to their former training.

In the employment field, it is important to credit the Eisenhower administration with integration in the District of Columbia Fire Department. Previous administration officials always ran for cover on this problem. Pro-segregation elements in the Fire Department could always depend on southern Democrats to attack any official who sought integration. On September 18, the Eisenhower administration accomplished integration in this department.

## Veterans Administration

The new Veterans Administrator, Harvey Higley, is the first chief of that agency to give full support to a policy of non-segregation. He initiated an official program of ending segregation in all VA hospitals and domiciliary facilities in September, 1953. In July, the VA officially announced the completion of the program.

Following this announcement, Mr. Mitchell requested NAACP branches to make an inspection of VA establishments in their respective communities and to report to the Bureau any evidences of failure to adhere to Mr. Higley's announced program. Kentucky branches reported complete integration at Louisville and Lexington. The New Orleans branch reported continuing segregation in wards and dining facilities at the hospital in that city, also discrimination by nurses and physicians in courtesy, calling Negro patients by their first names and addressing white patients as "Mister." Reports from Virginia indicated complete integration at Hampton and continuing segregation in recreational facilities and use of technical personnel at Roanoke.

## The Housing Bottleneck

On par with the influence of the armed services in American life is the [illegible] of the various federal housing agencies. Some of the [illegible] cities in the United States are for whites only. They have been created and brought into being with the help of the Federal Housing Administration.

The housing program of the government continued to be the greatest single force in the nation promoting residential segregation. As late as December, the housing agencies were still toying with the

notion that progress in correction of this problem can be made without strong policy directives against it.

At a conference with the housing agencies in December, the NAACP submitted the following recommendations:

1. That all public housing be open to tenants without regard to race with the development of no more "white" or "colored" projects, tenant selection being made on the basis of need for housing rather than on any racial consideration;
2. That there be a contractual requirement that all housing and other facilities such as parks, playgrounds or hospitals erected or developed on land assembled through federal loans or grants under the slum clearance and urban redevelopment and urban renewal programs be open to all renters, purchasers or users without regard to race; and
3. That on all housing assisted in any manner by FHA insurance or VA guarantee there be a contractual agreement requiring developers and owners of such property to offer to rent, sell or lease such housing to qualified applicants irrespective of race, color, religion or national origin.

## The Achilles Heel

In no area has the inside resistance to implementing the President's non-discrimination policy been more apparent than in housing. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituents continued to give full federal backing to programs for the development of lily-white communities. Federally-approved programs called for the eviction of Negro families for the redevelopment of areas from which they will be excluded not only as residents but also as users of new facilities to be developed.

Similarly, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in February reaffirmed its policy of giving federal grants to hospitals which segregate Negro patients and deny their professional facilities to Negro doctors whose patients are compelled to forego their services upon admission to the hospitals.

Although President Eisenhower has used the influence and power of his office to ameliorate conditions, he has consistently refused to urge civil rights action by Congress. He withheld White House support from a civil rights amendment to the Taft-Hartley Labor Relations Act, although he submitted recommendations for other amendments to revise that law.

After long delay because the administration had not endorsed civil rights bills of any kind, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce approved a bill to end segregation in interstate travel by [illegible] majority of 19 to 7. Nevertheless, the administration-controlled House Rules Committee refused to let this measure come to the floor for a vote.

## Congressional Inaction

Lagging behind the judiciary and the executive branch of the government, the Congress contributed nothing to the upsurge of civil rights action in the country. Failure to secure enactment of any civil rights measure in the 83rd Congress is shared by leadership of both the Republican and Democratic parties and by the administration, which sought no legislation in this field.

In the Senate, two bills on fair employment practices were introduced. The first, sponsored by Senator Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.), lacked enforcement powers and was opposed by civil rights organizations. It was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which did not report it out. The second, co-sponsored by Senators Ives (R., N.Y.) and Humphrey (D., Minn.), and others was reported favorably by the Senate Labor Committee. All other members of the Committee, except Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.) joined Senators Ives and Humphrey in supporting this legislation. Senators Murray (D., Mon.), Neely (D., W. Va.), Douglas (D., Ill.), Lehman (D., N. Y.), Kennedy (D., Mass.), Humphrey, and Ives favored an FEPC with enforcement powers. The other favorable committee members, Senators Smith (R., N. J.), Purtell (R., Conn.), Goldwater (R., Ariz.), Cooper (R., Ky.), and Upton (R., N. H.) expressed reservations on enforcement powers. The Senate did not take up the bill for debate.

In the House, despite requests for hearings on FEPC legislation by the NAACP and other interested organizations, Representative Samuel K. McConnell, Jr. (R., Pa.), chairman of the House Labor Committee, did not conduct such hearings or take any action on the proposed legislation. Representative McConnell remained opposed to [illegible] with enforcement powers.

In the field of housing, both the Senate and House Committees on Banking and Currency ducked the issue of segregation by ignoring non-segregation amendments when they considered the Housing Act of 1954. The issue was raised in reverse, however, when Senator Burnet Maybank (D., S. C.) proposed an amendment which would

strike all public housing from the bill because of a Supreme Court ruling upholding a decision in a California court ending segregation in public housing.

The Bureau warned senators that the Maybank action had created a situation in which the foes of public housing from the North, who voted for his plan to kill public housing, would also be voting in favor of racial segregation. Their action, it was pointed out, might determine the outcome of some closely contested elections in northern states.

The Maybank proposal was defeated by an overwhelming voice vote in the Senate. The only senators who made statements for the record on this bill, other than the sponsor, were Majority Leader Knowland (R., Cal.) and Senator Lehman, both of whom opposed the proposal. It should be noted that the Maybank proposal was made a few minutes after the Senate had formally recognized the presence in the Chamber of representatives of the Turkish government. American racial policies are of great interest in Turkey and the Middle East. Final action by Congress on the Housing Act so curtailed public housing as to foreshadow its early end.

## Hospitals, Schools

In other welfare and public works building programs, the 83rd Congress failed to take action which would end segregation in the use of federally-built and supported facilities. The Hospital Construction Act, even though passed after the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation, did not contain any safeguards against segregation.

A Senate bill to provide emergency aid for school construction contained language recognizing the "separate but equal" doctrine. At the urging of the NAACP, this language was removed in committee and the bill passed the Senate only to die in the House.

These grants to states for social welfare programs generally have the support of liberal northern and less conservative southern congressmen. The liberals (both Republicans and Democrats) feel that inclusion of non-segregation clauses in this type of legislation will lead to solid southern opposition to the entire bill. In all such grants, the Executive Branch could accomplish the desired result by administrative action. For that reason, the Bureau has continued to press for action by both Congress and the President with the hope that one or the other would act.

The strongest bid made to pass civil rights legislation in the 83rd Congress was the attempt to end Jim Crow travel restrictions in interstate commerce. The bill before the House provided penalties for carriers segregating passengers in interstate commerce on the basis of race. The bill, H. R. 7054, as reported by the committee, was a combination of bills introduced in the House by Representatives John Heselton (R., Mass.), Powell (D., N. Y.), Dawson (D., Ill.), and others. The Senate refused to take action until the House passed the bill.

The committee held hearings on the travel bills in May. On July 21, the committee reported out the bill. Congressmen who voted for it in committee were: Republicans Wolverton (N. J.), Hinshaw (Cal.), Schenck (Ohio), Carrigg (Pa.), Warburton (Del.), Derounian (N. Y.), Pelly (Wash.), and Younger (Cal.) — Democrats Crosser (Ohio), Klein (N. Y.), Granahan (Pa.), Mack (Ill.), Moulder (Mo.), and Staggers (W. Va.).

Congressman Leo Allen (R., Ill.), chairman of the House Rules Committee, said he could not act on the bill because it was too late in the session.

In the closing days of the session, Congressman Heselton sought to have the rules of the House suspended so the bill might be brought before the House. The consent of the leadership of both parties was required to do this. Speaker Martin (R., Mass.) and Majority Leader Halleck (R., Ind.) said they were agreeable to this proposal, but Minority Leader Rayburn (D., Tex.) refused his consent. Despite constant urging, Representative Rayburn refused to relent.

## No Statehood, Home Rule

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, favored by the NAACP, failed of passage this session. The House passed a bill approving Hawaiian statehood. This was amended in the Senate to include Alaska and sent back to the House, where no further action was taken.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia was also considered by Congress, but likewise, failed of passage.

A dubious proposal by southern senators to outlaw the poll tax by constitutional amendment was taken up by the Judiciary Committee and died there.

Other proposed constitutional amendments, sponsored by Senator James Eastland (D., Miss.) and Representative John Bell Williams (D., Miss.) designed to set aside the Supreme Court decisions

in the school cases, died in committees. The Bureau had notified committee members of our opposition to these proposals.

A bill revising the Organic Act of the Virgin Islands was amended to give residents a voice in future reorganization of the Islands' government. This amendment was one of several suggested by the NAACP and offered on the floor by Congressman Powell. A number of the Islands' residents opposed the original bill which gave the Governor power to reorganize the executive branch of government without the consent of the Islands' legislature. As finally passed, the bill provides that the Governor may carry out reorganization of the present executive structure in the Islands *without the consent* of the legislature. However, all future reorganization must be with the consent of the legislature.

Some supporters of the Bricker amendment, limiting the President's treaty-making power, urged its adoption as necessary to halt civil rights progress in the United States. The NAACP was one of the many organizations which opposed the Bricker amendment which was defeated in the Senate.

V

# THE NAACP AND THE NEGRO WORKER

## *Report of the Labor Relations Assistant*

Increasingly during 1954 the Negro community called upon the NAACP to combat vigorously the racial barriers which prevent Negro wage earners from developing and working at their highest skills. Assigned to the task of eliminating racial restrictions in employment was Herbert Hill, the Association's Labor Relations Assistant, who conducted a sustained program to this end with the organized labor movement, with industrial management and with public officials in many communities throughout the country.

Development of opportunities for Negroes to assume positions of authority and leadership within labor unions and to transform the significant number of Negro union members into an active and informed power within the ranks of organized labor was an important aspect of the Labor Relations Assistant's work. Conducted nationally through branch labor and industry committees, this program opened new job opportunities and developed a greater sensitivity within the labor movement to the problems of the Negro community. Increasingly the responsible leadership of the American labor movement, both in the Congress of Industrial Organizations and in the American Federation of Labor turned to the NAACP to help develop and execute civil rights programs at the work place, within the union and in the general community.

### [redacted] Union Integrated

Action was taken in 1954 to eliminate the discriminatory practices of the building and construction trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A significant victory was won when more than sixty-five Negro mechanics were admitted, for the first time, into Local 7, Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union in Dade County, Florida. This is the first integrated

local union in Dade County operating within the jurisdiction of the AFL Building and Construction Trades Department, as well as the first local of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union to be integrated in Florida.

The significance of admitting Negroes into the AFL union lay in the fact that membership in the Federation is a condition of employment in the major construction installations in the area. Hitherto Negroes in Dade County either were segregated in separate "colored auxiliaries" or excluded from the established trade unions in the industry. Colored workers were generally denied employment on all construction jobs outside the Negro residential areas.

A special committee representing twelve communities in the state was established at the NAACP Florida State Conference meeting to continue the work of removing racial barriers in Florida unions, in conjunction with the National Office.

### The Separate Line of Progression

A major limitation upon Negro labor in industry is the separate line of progression for Negro employees found in many collective bargaining agreements. By this device Negroes are limited to menial and unskilled jobs in the labor force regardless of seniority and ability; they are denied an opportunity for training and promotion into skilled trades and maintenance classifications. Such a condition usually is accompanied by segregated locals.

An important project in 1954 was a survey of the status of Negro workers in major oil refineries in Louisiana and Texas, together with an analysis of the discriminatory provisions contained in collective bargaining agreements between oil refining companies and various trade unions. The survey was undertaken as the first step toward developing a new body of labor law voiding the legality of the separate line of progression and other forms of discrimination. The Labor Relations Assistant submitted to the Legal Department a study documenting an industry-wide pattern of discriminatory employment practices in the oil refining and chemical industries. These practices include: improper classifications of Negro workers, wage differentials between Negro and white workers doing the same work, segregated local unions, denial of apprenticeship and other training facilities to Negroes, limited seniority rights, and lack of democratic trade union representation.

An immediate result of the project was action taken by the Oil Workers International Union, CIO, which established a policy

binding upon all local affiliates prohibiting discriminatory clauses in contracts negotiated by this union and calling for an end to segregated locals.

This labor project will be given major attention in 1955 and will affect Negro workers in many industries in all parts of the United States.

### Restaurant Bias in Michigan

The regional director of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, called upon the Labor Relations Assistant to help in breaking down Jim Crow practices in restaurants in Muskegon, Michigan. With widespread union support, a campaign was organized which resulted in the breaking of the color bar in many restaurants which served workers in nearby plants.

Mr. Hill organized interracial civil rights surveys of public facilities, conferred with law enforcement officials, secured for the first time in the history of that community a warrant and action by the county prosecutor initiating a criminal suit pursuant to the Michigan Civil Rights Law, and presented testimony during the court trial in which a restaurant was charged with refusing service to Negroes.

This work resulted in opening various public accommodations in Muskegon to Negro citizens for the first time.

### Role in the Hatters Strike

At the request of the president of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, AFL, the NAACP intervened and was instrumental in stopping the use of Negro workers as strikebreakers in a labor dispute between the union and the Hat Corporation of America at Norwalk, Conn. Several instances of violence and threats of violence had occurred and decisive action by the NAACP averted further racial tension in the community.

An investigation revealed that the company had solicited unemployed Negroes in the area and elsewhere to work as strikebreakers. The Labor Relations Assistant addressed a special meeting of all union members in the area together with meetings of the executive boards of the Bridgeport and Norwalk NAACP branches, met with religious leaders, groups of white and colored workers and union officials and conferred with police officials. A joint public statement was issued by the National Office and the local branches. Branch

committees were organized to visit the homes of the Negro strike-breakers, urging them to leave the plant.

Not a single Negro union member defected during the course of this extremely long and bitter fight, and Negro unionists were active on the picket line and in other strike activities. The President of the AFL expressed appreciation for the work of the NAACP in this situation.

### Upgrading Negroes in the Metal Trades

Although the metal trades industry has been an important source of employment for Negro workers, great obstacles exist in securing effective upgrading and promotion into skilled trades and maintenance classifications. As a step toward correcting this situation, conferences were held with the president and other officers of the International Association of Machinists, AFL, regarding the union's racial policies, with the object of securing support for admitting qualified Negroes into apprenticeship training programs in the metal trades industry. The International Association of Machinists until recently barred Negroes from membership.

Conferences were held with district and local union leaders of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, in Birmingham, Alabama, concerning promotion and upgrading for Negro workers on the basis of seniority and ability. As a result, a number of Negro workers were promoted in the manufacturing plant of the Pullman Company in Bessemer, Alabama, and in plants of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company (United States Steel Company) in Birmingham.

### Adjustments at Medical Procurement Agency

Investigation and action regarding charges of racial discrimination against Negro civilian employees at the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency in Brooklyn, New York, resulted in securing the withdrawal of dismissal charges against two Negro civilian employees and adjusting the employment status of other Negro workers at this government agency. Conferences were held with Colonel Howard F. Currie, Chief of Agency; Colonel John E. Haughey, Inspector General; the Deputy Fair Employment Officer assigned by the United States Department of Defense to investigate the complaints of Negro employees; and representatives of the three branches of the Armed Forces.

Mr. Hill appeared on behalf of the aggrieved Negro workers, charging that the dismissal actions resulted from a pattern of racial

bias and discrimination within the agency. Colonel Currie agreed to dismiss all pending charges against the two employees in question.

This investigation called attention of the Department of Defense to the biased attitudes of civilian departmental and section supervisors whose actions were responsible for a serious breakdown in morale affecting the productivity both of white and Negro employees. Colonel Currie, acknowledging "administrative errors," established a civilian advisory committee and a training program for both civilian and military supervisory staff to eliminate tensions and conflicts in the agency because of race or color.

A series of meetings also was initiated to brief purchasing agents of the ASMPA on the non-discrimination clause contained in government contracts. The ASMPA is responsible for the procurement of all medical supplies for the three military services and the National Civilian Defense Administration. It transacts business with more than 6,000 firms throughout the United States.

### Job Promotion for Army Employee

Grievance action initiated by the NAACP on behalf of a civilian employee of the First Army Headquarters, Governor's Island, New York, resulted in the promotion of a Negro woman to a higher civil service status rating. At official sessions of the First Army Grievance Committee at the Governor's Island military reservation, the Association charged that the employee, solely because of her race, had been denied promotional opportunities and proper status rating to which she was entitled.

As a result of NAACP action, the New York State Division of Unemployment Insurance reversed a previous decision and awarded retroactive unemployment compensation to a Negro woman dismissed from her job because of prejudice. This case involved a native of the British West Indies who was dismissed by her employer because she requested time off from her job to be sworn in as an American citizen. Action taken by her employer made the woman ineligible to receive unemployment compensation.

### Steelworkers' Civil Rights Conference

At the request of the International Union of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, the Labor Relations Assistant aided in the organization of and participated in a conference sponsored by the

Steelworkers involving all the local unions affiliated with the USWA in the Birmingham-Bessemer district. This conference, which was a closed meeting for the leaders of local unions and staff personnel, was the first interracial conference of its kind sponsored by this union in the Deep South specifically devoted to the problems of minority groups within the work place and in the community. The conference was held in the meeting hall of the CIO Industrial Union Council in Birmingham on a completely integrated basis and Negro and white steelworkers freely presented the problems and conflicts of a southern industrial community on racial issues.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called upon the Labor Relations Assistant to prepare memoranda on the Supreme Court decision of May 17 voiding school segregation, consequent successful experience in implementing the decision, and developments in eliminating discriminatory practices in American industry. The material was used by the American representatives in the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. In describing the civil rights advances made in education in the United States, and employment, the statement pointed to the role of the NAACP as the decisive lever in this work.

## Employment Bias at Church Council

Acting upon complaints, the Labor Relations Assistant conducted an investigation into the dismissal of Negroes employed by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., in New York City. The investigation disclosed that wage differentials between Negro and white workers and other discriminatory practices existed in this organization. Meetings were held with the Director of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, and with the workers involved.

As a result, the Council's executive staff issued two memoranda to all department heads and executive personnel. The first called for the elimination of wage differentials existing between Negro and white workers, stating that promotions shall be based solely upon merit. Several Negro employees received wage increases, and some promotions occurred.

The second memorandum indicated that no official of the Council would engage in any action which might be construed as interfering with the activities of employees to organize and join trade unions of their own choice.

## Trade Union Support for Civil Rights

Recognition of [redacted] as the responsible spokesman for the Negro wage-earner [redacted] widespread trade union support for the Association's [redacted] program and resulted also in securing increased financial contributions from organized labor.

The accomplishments and the goals of the NAACP were an important feature of many trade union conventions during 1954. The Labor Relations Assistant addressed and participated in national, state and district union conventions and conducted sessions in which the leaders of international unions, local union shop stewards, grievance committee members and international representatives discussed specific methods and programs to secure equal job rights for Negro workers.

Among the trade union conventions in which the NAACP labor representative participated were:

United Steelworkers of America, CIO — International Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey

International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO — International Convention, Miami, Florida

United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, AFL — Regional Conference, Norwalk, Connecticut

Retail, Wholesale and Distributive Workers Union, CIO — International Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey

United Steelworkers of America, CIO — Civil Rights Conference, Birmingham, Alabama

West Michigan CIO Industrial Union Council, Muskegon, Michigan

United Automobile Workers, CIO, Regional Council — Regional Staff Conference, Grand Rapids, Michigan

New York State CIO Convention, Albany, New York

IUE-CIO District Four Convention, Lake Kiamesha, New York

Jewish Labor [redacted] — National Convention, Atlantic City, New [redacted]

During the [redacted] year reports on civil rights issues and feature articles by the Labor Relations Assistant appeared in many trade union publications. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions reprinted Mr. Hill's article from *The Crisis* entitled "Southern Negroes at the Ballot Box" for international distribution to the free labor movement.

## "The Forgotten People"

America is a land of many crops, worked at different times in many different places. More than a million migrant agricultural workers follow planting, cultivating, harvesting and processing jobs from one part of the country to another. Negroes make up a very significant part of the migrant work force in America. Along the Atlantic Seaboard approximately 80 per cent of the migrant farm workers are Negroes.

Migrants are productive workers, vitally necessary to the national economy. By their labor they increase the prosperity of many states. All too often, though, migrant workers are "the forgotten people" of America. Migrant families are transported in open trucks across state boundaries to live in shacks, abandoned barns, tents and even chicken coops amidst unbelievable squalor. Their children frequently are denied the right to a basic education and normal development as human beings.

The utter lack of medical attention and the flagrant violation of child labor laws, together with a hostile attitude on the part of resident townspeople and local law enforcement officials, have created intolerable conditions for migrant workers. In the "enlightened" North the migrant worker usually is completely ostracized and segregated from the life of the community into which he is brought to work.

The NAACP National Office assigned the Labor Relations Assistant to develop programs on behalf of migrant agricultural workers, to conduct investigations into their working and living conditions, and to endeavor to secure remedial migrant labor legislation at the state level, as well as the enforcement of existing statutes. The Association has widely publicized the serious plight of the migrant farm worker and has attempted to develop support from trade union and church organizations for the NAACP's migrant labor program in several states.

### Migrants in Pennsylvania

A significant accomplishment in 1954, unique in the history of Pennsylvania and in the entire nation, was the establishment of a day care center for the children of migratory farm workers who each year make the long journey from the South to harvest the Commonwealth's fruit and vegetable crops.

Potter County, Pennsylvania, has the largest migrant population in that state. It is estimated that at least three thousand are there

each summer, of which seven hundred are children under nine years of age. In [illegible] town of Ulysses (population 488) in Potter County, [illegible]ia Citizens' Committee on Migrant Labor — organized by the NAACP National Office and the Pennsylvania State Conference — successfully established and conducted a child day care center financed by state and federal funds.

The Potter County program represented the first child care center for migrants in Pennsylvania supported in part by state funds. Equally significant was the fact that it was the first such project in the nation supported in part by federal funds available to the states under Title V of the Social Security Act. These state and federal funds were supplemented by special grants from trade unions and other organizations in Pennsylvania.

Although the primary task of the project was to provide day care centers for migrant children, many of whom had worked in the fields or were left to wander aimlessly, its scope was broadened and new dimensions added. Representatives of the Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee and of the NAACP came to Ulysses before the center was opened to win support among the local white townspeople not only for the project but for other remedial steps as well. This support was secured.

### Integration of Ulysses

For the first time in Ulysses many Negro families and their children were invited into churches and schools to participate in the life of the community. In many instances white and colored children played together for the first time, as resident white children of the community visited the day care center to play with the migrant children.

Because many of these children never had been vaccinated, medical assistance was secured from the State Department of Health and from the county health services. District nurses and a doctor from the State Department of Health vaccinated the children and gave them injections for whooping cough and diphtheria. Volunteer teachers brought the migrant children their first — and perhaps only — opportunity to learn the three R's.

Although the Potter County program was limited in terms of the number of children involved, the 1954 project may provide the basis for establishing migrant child day care centers in other areas of Pennsylvania as well as for stimulating similar action in other states. The Association will use the Potter County experiment to secure the

support of churches, trade unions, and child labor committees to establish further projects.

For the NAACP there is an especial significance to this project: that of effecting the integration of a group of Negroes into the life of a community from which they had been virtually barred. For the first time Negroes were seen on the streets of Ulysses, making purchases in grocery stores, entering motion picture theatres, and worshiping in integrated churches.

As a result of the Potter County project, the Necchi Foundation, together with the National Council of Negro Women, the National Council of Jewish Women and the United Church Women, awarded first prize in a national competition to the Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor for "the most important contribution to race relations in a local community during 1951." In addition to the citation the Committee received a cash award of $5,000.

### Migrants in New York State

During 1954 the New York State Legislature enacted a measure to license and regulate farm labor contractors. This legislation was drafted by the NAACP Labor Relations Assistant at the request of the Industrial Commissioner and the Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor. Other measures relating to standards for farm labor camps also were adopted by the State Legislature. In addition to drafting several model migrant labor bills, the NAACP labor representative submitted pertinent memoranda to the Joint Legislative Committee on Migrant Agricultural Labor, conducted an extensive statewide campaign in support of the proposed legislation, and made several on-the-spot investigations of migrant labor camps. Reports of these investigations were submitted to various state agencies. A campaign also was organized to defeat three legislative proposals affecting migrants which the NAACP strongly opposed.

Conferences on migrant labor were held with members of the Governor's staff, and the Association was represented at meetings of the Governor's Inter-Departmental Committee where the Labor Relations Assistant submitted proposals for the establishment of child day care centers for the children of migrant agricultural workers.

A request was made to the Director of the Budget for an appropriation to the State Department of Education to be used for the

education of migrant children who, all too often, are denied any educational opportunities because of the mobility of their parents.

A statewide [redacted] migrants was organized, consisting of branches operating in the areas of the greatest concentration of migrant agricultural workers together with an advisory group composed of trade unions, churches, and civic organizations. This committee mobilized political support for new migrant labor legislation and initiated investigations of migrant labor camps and surveys of working conditions of agricultural workers throughout the state.

## VI

# SPREADING THE GOOD NEWS

### *Report of the Department of Public Relations*

During 1954 the Association received perhaps the most extensive and positive publicity of its existence, primarily in connection with two distinctive events: the launching of the Fight for Freedom campaign in Washington, D.C., on March 10, with President Eisenhower as the principal speaker; and the unanimous decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on May 17 outlawing public school segregation, in accord with the brief and arguments presented to the Court by the NAACP legal staff.

The Public Relations Department engaged in intensive advance preparations and on-the-spot press relations in connection with the March 10 Freedom Fulfillment Conference in the nation's capital. In Washington, the Director called on White House Press Secretary James A. Hagerty to discuss radio, television and newsreel coverage of President Eisenhower's appearance at the conference. Letters then were dispatched to nine outlets requesting TV and movie newsreel coverage of the event.

The Freedom Fulfillment Conference received as wide publicity as any single NAACP-sponsored event to that date. The President's appearance was covered extensively by daily newspapers, radio, television, newsreels and the Negro press. The New York *Times*, as one example, used the story at the top of Page 1, with a three-column cut of President Eisenhower, the Chairman of our Board and the Executive Secretary. Other conference pictures were used by a large number of metropolitan dailies. In preparation for the conference, the Department also produced a pamphlet, "Target for 1963," setting forth the goals of the Fight for Freedom campaign, which was distributed to conference delegates.

#### School Decision Ramifications

On May 17 all normal activities of the Public Relations Department halted in order to handle the publicity aspects of the Supreme

Court decision banning public school segregation. The Director participated in the meeting of Board and staff members which drafted the official statement on the decision, and arranged for a press conference on the afternoon of May 17. The press conference, largest ever held in our national headquarters, was attended by reporters from the dailies, weeklies, wire services and a number of magazines. The proceedings were taped by radio outlets and filmed by television and newsreel companies. Thus, the voices of NAACP spokesmen were heard and their faces seen on television and radio programs and newsreels throughout the nation that week. Page 1 pictures of the Special Counsel and other lawyers in the case were widely published throughout the nation. All this was positive indication that the mass communications media recognized the importance of the school decision and the vital role played by the NAACP in securing the ruling. Speaking for the Association at this conference were the President, the Chairman of the Board, board members Ralph J. Bunche and Alfred Baker Lewis, the Executive Secretary and the Special Counsel.

As a result of the Supreme Court decision, the Secretary, Special Counsel, Administrator and other members of the staff gave numerous interviews and appeared on a number of television and radio programs. The Secretary gave an interview to *U.S. News & World Report* which appeared in the May 28 issue of that publication. A reprint of this article was given wide distribution.

On the weekend following May 17, the Director handled press relations at a special NAACP conference on school integration held in Atlanta, attended by state conference, regional and branch officials of the Association in the South. A press conference set up by the Director on the opening day for the Executive Secretary and Special Counsel was well attended by press representatives. At the conclusion of the two-day meeting another press conference was conducted, where the Atlanta Declaration was made public. As in New York on May 17 there was a full turnout of newsmen, cameramen and recorders for radio, television and newsreels. Meanwhile, the Director served on the subcommittee which drafted the Declaration. Upon returning to New York the Director wrote an article on the Atlanta conference for *The Nation*. The Atlanta Declaration subsequently was published and sent to editors of all daily newspapers in the 17 southern and border states, accompanied by a covering letter. The Declaration also was made available for general distribution.

In the weeks immediately following the Supreme Court decision the Department handled a large volume of telephone inquiries and correspondence on the subject of segregation in the schools.

During the same month the Department arranged for publicity in connection with the presentation of a Philip Murray Memorial Foundation grant of $75,000 on May 12, in a ceremony held at the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace in New York. Stories of the grant were carried by several New York newspapers and pictures of the ceremony were widely published in the weekly press.

## Paton Articles, Foreign Tour

Two other important ventures were undertaken by the Director in 1954. They were a series of consultations with the South African humanitarian and novelist Alan Paton regarding his tour of the United States in the spring, and a trip to Europe to inspect the facilities of Radio Free Europe made in October.

The Director assisted Mr. Paton in arranging his itinerary for his cross-country tour, and in making local contacts. Mr. Paton was in this country on an assignment for *Collier's* magazine to observe U.S. race relations through the eyes of a white South African. These observations were recorded by Mr. Paton in two lengthy articles for *Collier's* under the general title, "The Negro in America Today." In his articles, Mr. Paton noted at length the role of the NAACP as a primary instrument in advancing the welfare of Negro Americans. The Department also furnished extensive information to a *Collier's* researcher assigned to assist the South African writer.

Upon authorization of the Board of Directors, the Director joined a group of 84 other Americans representing some 45 organizations on a nine-day tour abroad under the auspices of the Crusade for Freedom, a project of the American Heritage Foundation, October 20-29. The tour was organized to permit Americans to see for themselves the facilities of Radio Free Europe, sponsored by the Crusade, and to observe and evaluate the work being done to maintain contact with 70 million people of Eastern Europe through RFE and a balloon barrage of leaflets. In addition, the group received excellent briefing not only by officials of RFE but also by official American representatives on the Continent including Commanding General Thomas Honnen in Berlin and General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Commander, Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe, in Paris.

Various members of the group made recordings for translation and broadcast to the satellite countries. In Munich, the Director participated in two radio programs. One was a panel discussion in which he joined the Mayor of San Francisco, a CIO representative, the president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and a Boy Scout representative in answering questions and discussing issues with refugees from the Communist countries. The other was a 15-minute interview with Mr. Geib of the Radio Free Europe staff. This interview was later released and widely published in the American press. In addition to the RFE broadcasts, the Director was interviewed by the Munich *Abends-Zeitung* and questioned about the American race issue in many private conversations.

## Focus on Schools

As a result of the Supreme Court ban on public school segregation, a number of magazine and newspaper articles, as well as radio and television programs, were devoted to this significant issue during the months following the Court's decision. Several of these were prompted and aided by the Public Relations Department, including, in addition to the Alan Paton articles, another article in a large circulation magazine and two network television programs. *Redbook* magazine for October carried a feature story on three newly-integrated schools in Delaware, as the direct result of a suggestion made to the author, free-lance writer William Peters, by the Director. *Redbook's* "The Schools that Broke the Color Line" gave a sympathetic account of three schools near Wilmington, Delaware — the first in the South to experience the transition from segregation to integration. It was reprinted for larger distribution.

Acting on information given them by the Department, the producers of the television program, "The American Week," turned their cameras on two West Virginia counties the first week in September to record the start of school integration there. This program was narrated by Eric Sevareid. Similar assistance was given to Ed Murrow's TV show "See It Now" on the Milford, Delaware, school situation.

The Department also arranged to have Dr. Kenneth Clark, New York City College professor who provided social science information in the Supreme Court school cases, appear as a guest on the local Barry Gray radio program during September to discuss the Milford case.

## National Convention

To draw national attention to the proceedings of the NAACP annual convention in Dallas, in June, the Department dispatched letters to more than 75 newspapers, radio and television stations inviting coverage of the event. As a result, the convention was covered by all the wire services and by many large circulation dailies. At the convention the Department conducted well-attended and widely publicized press conferences for the Executive Secretary, the Special Counsel and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, and also arranged for radio, television and individual press interviews in Dallas for a number of NAACP officials. Station WLIB in New York carried daily transcribed reports of activities at the convention. In addition, convention photographs were sent to the Negro press and received prominent display in many papers.

Other major events during the year for which the NAACP handled publicity included a benefit fashion show at New York's La Vie en Rose, a New York benefit honoring the lawyers and social scientists who participated in the school segregation cases, the Emergency Conference on School Integration held in Philadelphia in November and the National Youth Legislative Conference in Washington in January.

The fashion show, sponsored jointly by the national office and the New York branch, on March 7, was the initial fund-raising effort for the metropolitan area in connection with the Fight for Freedom campaign. The sum of $2,250 was raised for the Triple F campaign.

## Research Projects

Three research projects were undertaken by the Department during the year. Newspaper clippings dealing with the school segregation issue and action taken thereby were compiled and categorized with a view to providing ready reference for current information in this area. This job absorbed some 300 man-hours, and the Department was fortunate in securing a temporary employee, Miss Ann Thurman, to assist in the project.

The Department's Assistant compiled data on discrimination in employment in defense plants from information secured in response to inquiries by the Executive Secretary, to present facts on biased employment in plants holding defense contracts to the President's Committee on Contract Compliance.

Acting under instructions of the Board of Directors, the Depart-

ment undertook the compilation of election information in November. A form requesting such information was sent to 100 key persons in as many cities. [illegible] percentage of the questionnaires was returned.

Early in the year the Director began negotiations with the Public Affairs Committee for the publication of a pamphlet on the public school segregation issue. In April he reviewed the manuscript for this pamphlet, which subsequently was published jointly by the Association and the Public Affairs Committee, with a foreword by Dr. Frank P. Graham and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays.

The first issue of *Freedom News* appeared in May, produced by the Department. *Freedom News*, a monthly four-page newsletter for branches on the Fight for Freedom campaign, is designed to keep NAACP units well informed about latest campaign developments: on the national, state and local levels. The newsletter will be continued until the closing date of the campaign.

### Special Events

In the interest of getting out the vote, the Department during the summer worked closely with NAACP personnel in Chattanooga, Knoxville and Nashville, Tennessee, in that state's primary. Each of these branches was supplied with copy for leaflets and copy for use by announcers in sound trucks.

On the occasion of the presentation of $26,850 in life memberships to the Fight for Freedom by the Links, in July, the Director went to Bluefield, West Virginia, where he arranged for press and newsreel coverage of the ceremony.

In February, the Department lent its assistance to the Columbia Broadcasting System in connection with an hour-long documentary on the present status of the Negro in America, which was aired over CBS on February 28. A CBS reporter, assigned to tour the South to gather taped interviews and other information for this program, was given introductory letters to NAACP officials in various sections of the South and letters were sent to these officials informing them of the impending visit of the reporter. The Director gave further [illegible] CBS officials in connection with this program.

During the [illegible] month the Director conferred with two representatives of the Hallmark Company concerning the racially derogatory content of some of their greeting cards. This office had protested the sale of some cards felt to be objectionable. The officials promised that an attempt would be made in the future to produce less objectionable cards.

Speaking engagements of the Director included an address before the American Public Relations Association in Washington, D. C., July 19, where he discussed "Public Relations of the NAACP" and an address before the ADA Summer Workshop at Bard College, August 6, on the subject "The Civil Rights Issue in the 1954 Campaign." The Director also addressed the Westchester Ethical Society on April 19. Both the Director and the Assistant participated in the Eastern Regional Training Conference held in New York, April 9-10. At a luncheon meeting of the Urban League of Greater New York on March 29, the Director spoke on, "Negro Leadership and the Negro Press."

The Director conducted a public relations panel at the NAACP Emergency Conference on School Integration in Philadelphia, November 26-27.

### "Balance Sheet"

In addition to her regular duties, the director of the Division of Research and Information concentrated for part of the year on the compilation and editing of copy for the "Balance Sheet of Group Relations for 1953," published annually in cooperation with the American Jewish Congress.

A radio script on the Fight for Freedom campaign was written by the Assistant for the Louisville branch. "Desegregation at Work" by the Director was published in the December 18 issue of *The Nation* as the first summary article on the progress of school desegregation since the May 17 decision.

The Department prepared nine new publications. eleven reprints of current magazine and newspaper articles and re-issued three earlier pamphlets. More than a million pieces of this literature were distributed, including 15,000 copies of two posters, and 100,000 leaflets for membership campaigns.

**New Literature**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Who — Me?, folder | 504 | M |
| Fight for Freedom, folder | 256 | M |
| Target for 1963, pamphlet | 29.4 | M |
| Segregation: Disgrace of Democracy, folder | 26.5 | M |
| Atlanta Declaration, folder | 26.5 | M |
| Invest in Freedom, folder | 27.5 | M |
| Segregation and the Schools, pamphlet | 20 | M |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Annual Report, booklet | 7.5 | M |
| Balance Sheet | 2.5 | M |

**Reprints of [illegible] Current Articles**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Forgotten People<br>By N.Y. *World Telegram & Sun* | 10 | M |
| The Negro: Progress & Challenge<br>By Chester Bowles, N.Y. *Times* | 10 | M |
| How Washington . . . Looks to Me<br>By Walter White, *Saturday Evening Post* | 5 | M |
| When Segregation Ends<br>By Cabell Phillips, N.Y. *Times* | 3 | M |
| Negro in America Today<br>By Alan Paton, *Collier's* | 10 | M |
| Desegregation at Work<br>By Henry Lee Moon, *The Nation* | 5 | M |
| Annual Convention Resolutions, *The Crisis* | 2 | M |
| School Teachers' Jobs, montage of newspaper clippings | 40.5 | M |
| It Can Be Done, montage of newspaper clippings on schools | 5 | M |
| What Negroes Want Now, interview with Walter White, *U.S. News & World Report* | 8.5 | M |
| School Segregation, *Congressional Quarterly* | 5 | M |

**Reprints of Standard Pieces**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| How the NAACP Began | 25 | M |
| NAACP Acclaimed | 26 | M |
| Guidepost to Freedom | 48 | M |

## VII

# THE 45th ANNUAL CONVENTION

The salutary impact of the Supreme Court's May 17 decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools undoubtedly was foremost in the thoughts of 766 delegates from forty states and the District of Columbia who arrived in Dallas, Texas, on June 29 for the opening of the Association's 45th annual convention. A full day was set aside for discussion of ways to implement the momentous legal edict which declared that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place . . . separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

When last the Association had met in annual convention in Texas, in 1941, the nation was on the threshold of war. Of chief concern to the delegates in Houston, Texas, thirteen years earlier, were the role of the Negro in national defense and the struggle to regain the ballot for the southern Negro through invalidation of the "white primary."

A message to the 1954 convention from President Eisenhower declared that "the social and political maturity of our people evidenced by the reception given the recent Supreme Court decision [on schools] is of great significance to our nation and to the cause of freedom in the world."

In a keynote address opening the six-day convention, Board Chairman Dr. Channing H. Tobias warned that the Association will not "stand idly by while the enemies of the democratic process in the person of public officials . . . hold closed-door conferences for the publicly-announced purpose of devising ways and means of evading the Court's [school] ruling." He also cautioned "congenital 'Uncle Toms' who have a vested interest in segregation" not to expect gentle treatment from the NAACP in the imminent changeover from segregation to integration.

### Implementing the Decision

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel and architect of the anti-segregation school cases, outlined NAACP policy on school desegre-

gation. The Association, he said, would seek — through its local units — to negotiate with local school boards with a view to bringing about school desegregation by September, 1955.

"We shall not hesitate to resort to court action where there's any indication that the [school] board has no intention of complying with the principle of non-segregation laid down by the Court," Mr. Marshall emphasized. "The most desirable thing would be for school authorities voluntarily to comply with the decision."

At an all-day session on branch action to implement the decision, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark told the delegates that community school desegregation can best be brought about by a clear-cut statement of policy on the part of local officials, firm enforcement of this non-segregation policy, refusal by the authorities to tolerate subterfuge or other devices for evading the fact of desegregation, and a public appeal to citizens stressing the principles of brotherhood, fair play, and equal justice for all. Dr. Clark is associate professor of psychology at New York City College and a consultant to the NAACP Legal Department.

Although the matter of desegregating the public schools unquestionably was the focal point of the convention, delegates concerned themselves, too, with other pressing issues. They heard Walter White, veteran executive secretary, assert that President Eisenhower's executive action to end segregation and his forthright support of anti-bias court rulings had "decisively bashed hopes of the Dixiecrats that he would be guided by them on this fundamental issue of racial equality." Citing tasks ahead of the NAACP, Mr. White declared that "above all, we must use every media of information and communication to awaken Americans, both Negro and white, to the grim truth that democracy itself will not survive unless racial bigotry is eliminated from our national life."

## Working Sessions

In working sessions delegates discussed methods to bring about needed civil rights legislation at all levels, eliminate bias in employment, end segregation and discrimination in housing and hospitals, and conduct successful local membership and fund-raising campaigns. Delegates to a workshop on ending race barriers in hospitals and health education explored the possibility of using legal methods to challenge the tax exemption status of voluntary hospitals which bar Negroes as patients or staff members. The majority of such private

hospitals would be unable to continue functioning should their tax exemption be revoked, it was noted.

Resolutions adopted by the convention called for an annual civil rights mobilization in the nation's capital, restriction of the federal loyalty and security program to "security-sensitive departments" of the government, and repudiation of "McCarthyism" which "aims to lead the nation to fascism." A multiple statement on international affairs denounced imperialism as "unjust and a threat to world peace," condemned the racist policies of the Union of South Africa and the terrorist tactics of both Mau Mau and anti-Mau Mau forces in Kenya, asked for a revision of the McCarran-Walter Act to eliminate the national origins quota system and other "racist-based provisions."

In the field of domestic affairs, resolutions named the United States government as the greatest single force promoting segregated housing through FHA and slum clearance programs, urged churches to help ease racial and religious tensions and to put into effect their policies of racial integration, directed NAACP state and local units to promote more intelligent use of the ballot by distributing to the public at large the voting records and views of congressmen, senators, and local candidates for office.

More than twenty thousand dollars was added to the Association's national budget during the convention. At a Freedom Fund dinner, first national report meeting to be held since the one-million-dollar-a-year Fight for Freedom campaign was voted into effect at the 1953 convention, local and state NAACP units turned in funds they had raised totaling $19,000. The closing mass meeting of the conference brought another $1,500 in contributions from an audience composed of members of both races and totaling some 7,500 persons.

Addressing this meeting were Secretary White and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division, who asserted that "the prejudice of the white American against the Negro is more veneer than deep grain and can be peeled off with little damage or pain."

Calling for a spirit of faith and fairness in American race relations, Dr. Bunche declared:

". . . What we all, white and black alike, must ceaselessly seek after is the means of living together simply as people. The philosophy of our Founding Fathers, our Constitution, the tenets of our religions all tell us this is the way of the good life, this can be done. It is being done and will be done."

*DR. THEODORE K. LAWLESS, noted Chicago dermatologist, left, receives 39th Spingarn Medal at 45th annual convention. Presentation by Dr. Buell Gallagher, President of the College of the City of New York.*

## Presentation of Awards

The Spingarn Medal, awarded annually to a Negro American for distinguished [illegible], was presented to Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, Chicago [illegible]ist. Dr. Lawless was cited as "physician, educator and [illegible]hropist," one who has made "notable contributions to the health, enlightenment and welfare of his fellow citizens of all races, faiths and classes." Accepting the medal from Dr. Buell Gallagher, president of the College of the City of New York, the Chicago scientist expressed the view that "human welfare must be the primary concern of democratic society."

Association branches in Portland, Oregon, and Baltimore, Maryland, received first prizes in the annual Thalheimer Award competition for bettering the status of civil rights in their respective communities. The Portland branch was awarded a first prize of one hundred dollars, in the category of local units without paid personnel, for initiating the fight for and securing the passage of the Oregon Civil Rights Law. The Baltimore branch received a similar cash award for its activities in legislation, education, recreation, police brutality and housing; it competed in the category of branches with paid personnel. Among the accomplishments of the Baltimore unit were co-sponsorship of FEPC for the city, pending final vote at convention time; preparation of three cases for the Federal District Court of Maryland to end racial segregation in municipal and state recreation; and preparation of a test case to end segregation in municipal housing projects. In the latter case the Baltimore branch protested the racially discriminatory aspects of a multi-million-dollar redevelopment project known as Area Number 12.

The Arkansas State Conference of NAACP Branches won a Thalheimer first prize for its participation in the rape case of a six-year-old Negro girl attacked by a white adult. The Indiana State Conference of Branches was awarded a second prize for its work in legal redress and education. Other branches which received Thalheimer cash prizes and honorable mentions were Paducah, Kentucky; Central Long Island, New York; Kansas City, Missouri; Washington, D.C.; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The Ike Smalls trophy went to the Lansing, Michigan, branch for increasing its membership by more than one thousand per cent.

## Special Sessions

More than one hundred trade unionists attended the convention as fraternal delegates to participate in a labor seminar and a special dinner as well as in regular convention sessions. A major address at the conference was given by James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, who declared that the "CIO is proud to have been associated with the NAACP in the struggle" against Jim Crow laws.

Forty-eight international trade unions were represented by fraternal delegates, including many unions that previously had not participated in the Association's labor program. At the labor seminar, union representatives discussed the Association's program to eliminate racial restrictions in the hiring, training and promotion of

Negro workers, and to secure trade union support for the NAACP's civil rights work.

Among the organizations which sent fraternal labor delegates were International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, AFL; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, AFL; United Automobile Workers of America, CIO; International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union, AFL; United Steelworkers of America, CIO; American Guild of Variety Artists, AFL; Communications Workers of America, CIO; International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO; United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO; International Association of Machinists, AFL; and International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL.

Special sessions devoted to the problems of young people were conducted for youth delegates, who included students from high schools and colleges.

A two-day meeting of lawyers preceded the convention, to help set the legal course of the Association in implementing the Supreme Court school decision. Roundtable discussions during the conference were held by ministers and by physicians and other health workers.

Atlantic City, New Jersey, was chosen as the site of the 1955 convention, to be held the last week in June.

Named to a committee designated to nominate sixteen candidates to the Board of Directors were the following persons chosen by the convention: Joseph Kennedy, San Francisco, California; Joshua Thompson, Ambler, Pennsylvania; Dr. E. J. Stringer, Columbus, Mississippi; and Bowen K. Jackson, Baltimore, Maryland. The Board of Directors selected three persons to serve with the convention-appointed members. They were: W. W. Law, Savannah, Georgia; Kelly Alexander, Charlotte, North Carolina; and Alfred Baker Lewis, Old Greenwich, Connecticut.

## VIII

# FINANCING THE NAACP

**An all-time high income in general funds was reported by Administrator Roy Wilkins for 1954. This fund, used for operating expenditures, incorporates memberships, contributions from branches,**

*ADMINISTRATOR ROY WILKINS receives check in the amount of $26,850 representing life memberships from local chapters of Links, Inc., national women's organization. Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall and Mrs. Margaret Hawkins, Links' president (next to Mr. Wilkins), look on as Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, NAACP board member and officer of the Links, makes the presentation.*

general donations, receipts from the sale of holiday seals, and subscriptions to *The Crisis* [redacted]. The special fund, kept in reserve bank accounts, incl[redacted] fully paid life membership as well as bequests. Mr. Wil[redacted] that the general fund for 1953 totaled $391,033 and for 1954, $466,065.

Edward R. Dudley, director of the Fight for Freedom campaign, observed in his report that the greater emphasis placed upon life memberships in 1954 brought returns "far in excess of all previous life memberships put together." A total of 465 full and partial life memberships was registered.

Branch contributions also were larger, Mr. Dudley noted, due in part to national office assistance to branches "in tapping new sources of community giving." Following the Freedom Fulfillment Conference in March, Mr. Dudley pointed out, branches across the nation accepted special Freedom Fund quotas, set up committees "designed to give all segments of the population an opportunity to participate in the job of freeing Americans from racial discrimination and segregation."

# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

## INCOME STATEMENT — GENERAL FUND

## For the Year Ended December 31, 1954

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Income** | | | | |
| **Memberships** | | | | |
| Branches | | | $255,260.03 | |
| Memberships at large | | | 6,837.65 | |
| Life memberships — Amounts apportioned to income this year | | | 9,008.37 | |
| Total memberships | | | | $271,106.05 |
| FFF receipts from branches | | | | 66,123.68 |
| Contributions from individuals, organizations, unions, etc. | | | | 29,705.45 |
| Subscriptions to The Crisis | | | | 53,581.70 |
| **Miscellaneous** | *Gross* | *Expenses Deduct* | *Net* | |
| Christmas seals | $67,091.83 | $29,790.10 | $37,301.73 | |
| N.A.A.C.P. Pins | 1,939.95 | 2,150.00 | ( 210.05) | |
| Literature | 449.26 | — | 449.26 | |
| Branch contributions for traveling expenses | 1,811.49 | — | 1,811.49 | |
| Fund raising — Appeals, etc. | 1,238.90 | 863.10 | 375.80 | |
| Sundry | 984.90 | — | 984.90 | |
| Totals, miscellaneous | 73,516.33 | 32,803.20 | 40,713.13 | |
| Net miscellaneous income | | | | 40,713.13 |
| Interest and dividends | | | | 2,788.25 |
| Securities realized | | | | 376.39 |
| Cancellation of old outstanding checks | | | | 1,670.83 |
| Total income, net | | | | 466,065.48 |
| Expenditures, Statement 4 | | | | 448,638.43 |
| Net operating income | | | | 17,427.05 |
| **Appropriations** | | | | |
| To Crisis Publishing Company, Inc. | | | 2,700.00 | |
| To Branch State conferences | | | 10,905.59 | |
| To Branches subsidies — Executive secretaries salaries | | | 1,700.00 | |
| Total appropriations | | | | 15,305.59 |
| Excess of income over expenditures and appropriations, to Statement 1 | | | | $ 2,121.46 |

## Statement of Expenditures — General Fund

### For the [illegible] December 31, 1954

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Salaries** | | | |
| Administrative | | $ 50,464.49 | |
| Clerical | | 88,024.71 | |
| Field | | 46,044.05 | |
| Publicity | | 20,679.10 | |
| Legal | | 1,600.00 | |
| Regional | | 41,632.06 | |
| Total salaries | | | $248,444.41 |
| Cost of Subscription to The Crisis | | | 53,581.70 |
| Membership Campaign ($36,012.20 less $5,535.88 received from branches) | | | 30,476.32 |
| Washington Bureau | | | 6,539.54 |
| Regional Office Expenses ($14,718.23 less $13,454.21 received from branches) | | | 1,264.02 |
| Contributions to Allied Activities, Etc. | | | 1,293.00 |
| Annual Conference ($14,932.68 less $12,808.26 received from branches) | | | 2,124.42 |
| Regional Conferences ($989.85 less $1,086.09 received) | | | ( 96.24) |
| Life Membership — Cost of Plaques, Etc. | | | 2,946.71 |
| **Other Expenditures** | | | |
| Telephone and telegraph | | 6,938.79 | |
| Postage | | 12,410.11 | |
| Printing and multigraphing | | 19,720.57 | |
| Stationery and supplies | | 12,163.66 | |
| Newspaper clippings | | 2,199.95 | |
| Traveling expense | | 18,195.57 | |
| Building maintenance — W. Willkie Memorial Building, net | | 45.00 | |
| Special projects | | 1,800.00 | |
| **Taxes** | | | |
| Unemployment insurance — Federal and States | $1,434.21 | | |
| Old age insurance — Federal | 4,032.99 | | |
| Disability benefits — States | 755.85 | | |
| Total taxes | | 6,223.05 | |
| Hospitalization and health insurance | | 3,232.35 | |
| Furniture and [illegible] expense | | 1,601.30 | |
| Repairs and [illegible] office equipment | | 1,196.00 | |
| Depreciation — [illegible] fixtures | | 1,507.88 | |
| Office overhead [illegible], net | | 2,199.96 | |
| Accounting and [illegible] services | | 1,280.00 | |
| **General expenses, net —** | | | |
| Publicity, committee and project expenses, meeting rooms, painting offices, etc. | | 11,350.36 | |
| Total other expenditures | | | 102,064.55 |
| Total expenditures, to Statement 3 | | | $448,638.43 |

## Appendix I

# REMARKS OF PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER AT FREEDOM FULFILLMENT CONFERENCE WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 10

Ladies and Gentlemen:

From time to time the President of the United States has the privilege of appearing before a body of Americans assembled here in Washington to extend to them greetings on behalf of the Administration and of the Federal government here located.

And certainly, more often than not, he also has the privilege of extending felicitations and well wishes in the prosecution of their work.

It is the last part of this statement that I want to refer to for a moment. My welcome to you is warm and sincere, but I should like also to take your time to talk about the good wishes that I extend for the prosecution of your work.

I believe most sincerely in the statement of Lincoln that this nation was dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. I believe with the writers of the Declaration of Independence that men are endowed by their Creator with certain rights. And furthermore, I believe that the vast majority, the great mass of Americans, want to make those concepts a living reality in their lives.

I was talking only a few minutes ago with some of your leaders in the anteroom just off this hall. I had a chance to express my belief that all of us can take inspiration from this one thought: the great faith of the American people taken in the mass.

Of course, there are vociferous minorities. There are people who, for selfish or for fearful reasons, do not fully live up to the concepts held and so eloquently stated by our Founding Fathers — or by Lincoln. But, by and large, the mass of America wants to be decent, and good, and just.

Our people do not want to make differentiations among people based upon inconsequential matters of nature involving color and race.

Admitting [redacted] — even if sadly — that the ideals of those people have not been reached, let us still remember this: this same thing is true of everything we do in life. Ideals are really never reached by imperfect humans. But the striving for them makes better both the great body we are trying to affect and ourselves.

And so — and I hope, my dear friends, that doesn't sound like a sermon — I am merely trying to state my beliefs as fully and as frankly as I know how to do. But I believe that this struggle, this one that in your case now has gone on for, lo these many decades, is producing results on the part of the Administration.

I stated my own personal views many times before the election. I have tried to state them since. Wherever Federal authority clearly extends, I will do the utmost that lies within my power to bring into larger reality this expression of equality among all men.

By no means do I come here to make a political statement or to outline for you what has been done. But I do submit that in the areas that I spoke about in the campaign, definite progress has been made. It is in the areas of all the armed services and where their territories and functions and activities extend, and right here in the District of Columbia. With respect to these, I expressed certain convictions and determinations. Not in all cases have the full results been achieved. But we are still trying. I know of no other slogan that is so good for all of us as once we have determined upon and visualized a worthy ideal, to keep on trying with all that is in us.

I wish for each of you an enjoyable time in this Capital. I hope that you, aside from the fruitfulness of your work, have the satisfaction of seeing something around this town that you will carry back with really fond memories. I hope that you will find something just outside of the beauty of the buildings and the niceness of nature.

For all of you — good luck and goodbye.

## Appendix II

# U. S. SUPREME COURT DECISION ON PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION

[May 17, 1954.]

Mr. Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to use from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratifica-

tion by the [illegible] existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of [illegible] and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and [illegible] investigation convince us that, although these sources [illegible] light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost non-existent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public education had already advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing [illegible] imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of [illegible]rate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until [illegible] in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *supra*, involving not education but transportation. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In *Cumming v. County Board of Education*, 175 U. S. 528, and *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U. S. 78,

the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U. S. 337; *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*, 332 U. S. 631; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U. S. 629; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U. S. 637. In none of these cases was it necessary to reexamine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter, supra*, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of

children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, *supra*, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

> "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amend-

ment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question — the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as *amici curiae* upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.

*It is so ordered.*

## Appendix III

# ATLANTA DECLARATION

We, as representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from seventeen Southern and Border States and the District of Columbia, have assembled here in Atlanta, Georgia, May 22-23, for the purpose of collectively developing a program to meet the vital and urgent issues arising out of the historic United States Supreme Court decision of May 17th banning segregation in public schools.

All Americans are now relieved to have the law of the land declare in the clearest language: ". . . in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Segregation in public education is now not only unlawful; it is unAmerican. True Americans are grateful for this decision. Now that the law is made clear, we look to the future. Having canvassed the situation in each of our States, we approach the future with the utmost confidence. This confidence is based upon many factors including the pledges of support and compliance by governors, attorneys general, mayors, and education officials; and by enlightened guidance of newspapers, radio, television and other organs of public communication and comment.

We stand ready to work with other law abiding citizens who are anxious to translate this decision into a program of action to eradicate racial segregation in public education as speedily as possible.

We are instructing all of our Branches in every affected area to petition their local school boards to abolish segregation without delay and to [illegible] these agencies in working out ways and means of implem[illegible] Court's ruling. The total resources of the NAACP will be made available to facilitate this great project of ending the artificial separation of America's children on the irrelevant basis of race and color.

While we recognize that school officials will have certain administrative problems in transferring from a segregated to a non-segre-

gated system, we will resist the use of any tactics contrived for the sole purpose of delaying desegregation.

In pursuit of our objectives, we will accelerate our community action program to win public acceptance of the Court's desegregation order from all segments of the population. To this end, we are confident of the support of teachers, parents, labor, church, civic, fraternal, social, business and professional organizations.

We insist that there should be integration at all levels including the assignment of teacher-personnel on a non-discriminatory basis. The fullest resources of the Association, including the legal staff, the research staff and educational specialists on the staff, will be utilized to insure that there will be no discrimination against teachers as a result of integration.

We are aware that our region has been overburdened in its effort to provide education for all children — in part because of the dual system — and accordingly, we strongly support federal aid to assist our states in the building of new schools and the expansion of educational facilities for all our children, provided that any such legislation contains the necessary safeguards to insure the distribution of funds in accordance with the requirements of the Court's decision.

We look upon this memorable decision not as a victory for Negroes alone, but for the whole American people and as a vindication of America's leadership of the free world.

Lest there be any misunderstanding of our position, we here rededicate ourselves to the removal of all racial segregation in public education and reiterate our determination to achieve this goal without compromise of principle.

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DATE 4/7/82 BY SP-8 BC/mlw

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

We think the attached publication will be of interest to you.

We would appreciate any comment you may wish to make.

Sincerely,

Roy Wilkins

Executive Secretary

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

LO 3-6890

[redacted] ACK 7/1/55
b7c [redacted]

ENCLO. ATTACHED
ENCL. 1
RECORDED-37
INDEXED-37

61-3176-977

12 JUL 7 1955

(4) [redacted]
b7c

4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FBI/DOJ

COPY-was

MR. ROSEN

9/8/55

[redacted] b7C

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST BUREAU AGENT BY [redacted] NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE REPRESENTATIVE, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED b7C
DATE 4/7/82 BY SP-1 BJM/mc

At 9:06 a.m., September 8, 1955, Mr. A. B. Caldwell, Chief, Civil Rights Unit, Criminal Division, telephonically advised Supervisor McGowan of the Investigative Division that an allegation had been made against a Bureau Agent by [redacted] a representative for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Birmingham, Alabama. b7C

Mr. Caldwell related that on September 7, 1955, Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins of the National Office of the NAACP and others, including [redacted] b7C
[redacted] had a lengthy conference in the Office of Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, This conference was attended by Caldwell and concerned civil rights and election matters in Mississippi insofar as the colored people are concerned.

Mr. Caldwell stated that the individuals reviewed the situation in Mississippi and there were no new cases mentioned.

Mr. Caldwell advised, however, during the course of the conference [redacted] stated that there was a Bureau Agent in Mississippi who was formerly a member of the police force in that particular town. [redacted] would not identify the Bureau Agent but stated that the colored people felt they could receive no assistance from that Agent and would not contact the Bureau Agent. b7C

ACTION TAKEN

The Birmingham Division is being telephonically contacted and will be furnished the above information and instructed to interview [redacted] as soon as possible for full details including the identity of the Bureau Agent. Birmingham is to advise the Bureau and the interested office where the Bureau Agent is assigned so that this matter may be fully run out and any necessary explanation obtained from the Agent. b7C

NOT RECORDED
46 SEP 20 1955

CC Mr. Mohr

[redacted] (7)

57C 102

71 SEP 22 1955

see addendum, page 2

Memorandum for Mr. Rosen

ADDENDUM - E. [redacted] WINTERROWD

At 10:56 a.m., SAC Robey was telephonically instructed to immediately locate and interview [redacted] to obtain full details and the identity of the Bureau Agent. He was instructed that the Bureau should thereupon be telephonically advised. If [redacted] is located in some other city then the field division covering that area is to be telephonically advised by Robey and given the above instructions.

July 1, 1955

RECORDED-31 61-3176-977

INDEXED-31

44010

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

Thank you for making available the 1954 annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/7/82 BY SP-8015/mc

NOTE: The national office of the NAACP has constantly followed an anti-Communist line and cordial relations existed with the late Walter White, former executive secretary. (100-328241) Bufile 61-3176-914 reveals that Roy Wilkins, current executive secretary of the NAACP, has followed an anti-Communist line in the NAACP. In the 1930's he is alleged to have been associated with Communist front organizations.

MAILED 8
JUL - 1 1955
FBI

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm

JUL 13 1955

JUL 1 12 15 PM '55
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FBI
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4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 4/2/80 BY SP4

TELETYPE

NAACP

FBI, MIAMI 7-1-55 5-15 PM EST ML

DIRECTOR, FBI URGENT

RACIAL MATTERS, INFO CONCERNING.

[redacted] NAACP MEMBER, COLORED ATTORNEY, [redacted] FLA. DAYTONA BEACH, WITH UNKNOWN COLORED ATTORNEY, ALLEGEDLY STATE OFFICER NAACP FROM ORLANDO, FLA., ARE ATTEMPTING TO ORGANIZE LARGE GROUP OF COLORED PEOPLE, ALLEGEDLY ONE HUNDRED OR MORE, TO INVADE BEACHES AT DAYTONA BEACH AND ATTEMPT TO CAUSE INCIDENT JULY FOUR WEEKEND. [redacted] WEDNESDAY LAST, BETWEEN TWO FOURTYFIVE AND THREE TWENTY PM, FOUR CARLOADS OF COLORED PEOPLE, INCLUDING [redacted] AND UNKNOWN ATTORNEY FROM ORLANDO, DROVE ON BEACHES AT DAYTONA BEACH AND IN FRONT OF DAYTONA PLAZA HOTEL, ONE OF MORE EXCLUSIVE HOTELS, WENT INTO WATER. LIFEGUARDS SUMMONED POLICE AND ON ARRIVAL POLICE ASKED COLORED PEOPLE TO LEAVE AND GO TO COLORED BEACH. [redacted] SPOKESMAN, ALLEGEDLY INFORMED POLICE THEY DID NOT INTEND TO LEAVE AS THEY HAD EVERY RIGHT TO BE THERE. [redacted] ALLEGEDLY INVITED POLICE TO ARREST THEM. NO ARRESTS MADE AND AFTER POLICE LEFT, THESE PEOPLE ALLEGEDLY WENT BACK INTO WATER FOR FEW MINUTES AND THEN DEPARTED. [redacted] UNDERSTANDS PETITION WAS DELIVERED TO OFFICE OF MAYOR, DAYTONA BEACH, THIS AM

END PAGE ONE

RECORDED - 43 61-3176-979
INDEXED - 43
16 JUL 13 1955

EX-INSPICE
RECORDED

Mr. Belmont

Teletype Miami
7-6-55 Doc

PAGE TWO

BY [redacted] WHICH IS DEMAND FOR PRIVILEGES FOR COLORED PEOPLE [redacted] b7c
BEACHES. FEELS RIOTING MAY POSSIBLY OCCUR OVER WEEKEND OF
FOURTH AND HAS ALERTED LOCAL NATIONAL GUARD UNIT. STATED LOCAL
POLICE COMPLETELY AWARE OF SITUATION AND HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED
TO TAKE PRECAUTIONS AS DEEMED NECESSARY TO AVOID RIOTING.

WEEKS

END AND ACK PLS

6-17 PM OK FBI WA PC

VO

9:58 p.m., 7/1/55, Lowenfeld, Dept Advised-ltm
7:39 PM, 7-1-55, [redacted] Criminal Div'n of Dept advised ltm
7:46 PM, 7-1-55, [redacted] Q-2, advised ltm b7c
7:53 PM, 7-1-55, [redacted] ONI advised
8:09 PM, 7-1-55 [redacted] OSI advised ltm
b7c

CC: MR. BELMONT
AND SUPERVISOR [redacted]
DOM. INTEL. DIVISION

JUL 2 11 23 AM '55

FBI - [redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 6 1955

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman

FBI, MIAMI 7-6-55 3-54 PM EST

DIRECTOR, FBI URGENT

RACIAL MATTERS, INFO CONCERNG. REURTEL TODAY. NO RACIAL DISTURBANCE REPORTED DAYTONA BEACH DURING JULY FOUR WEEKEND. O.N.A.A.C.P.

WEEKS

END AND ACK PLS

5-53 PM OK FBI WA RD

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DATE 4/2/82 BY SP-8 BTJ/mc 5

RECORDED - 87
61-3176-980

Mr. Belmont

63 JUL 15 1955

JUSTICE 16 JUL 13 1955

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] 0-9a

672

JULY 6, 1955

TELETYPE

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

SAC, MIAMI

URGENT

Transmit the following message to:

RACIAL MATTERS, INFO CONCERNING (IS). REURTEL JULY ONE [redacted] CONCERNING POSSIBLE RACIAL DISTURBANCE DAYTONA BEACH DURING JULY FOUR WEEKEND. SUTEL IMMEDIATELY DETAILS ANY DISTURBANCES.

HOOVER.

61-3176-979

RECORDED - 43

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DATE 4/7/82 BY SP8BTJ/mc

(4)
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 6 1955

LBI - JUSTICE
TELETYPE

SENT VIA _____ M Per _____

cc - [redacted]
b7C

Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

July 7, 1955

RA RECORDED - 61-3176-98C

INDEXED - [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/7/[redacted]

Director, FBI

RACIAL MATTERS-DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
INFORMATION CONCERNING

This communication will confirm the following information which was telephonically furnished Messrs. William Foley and David Irons of the Department by a representative of this Bureau on July 1, 1955. b7C

[redacted] b7C b7D

Horace [redacted], a Negro attorney of Daytona Beach and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and an unknown Negro attorney, allegedly a state officer of the NAACP from Orlando, Florida, were attempting to organize a group of approximately 100 Negroes to invade the beaches at Daytona Beach in an attempt to cause an incident during the July 4, 1955, weekend. [redacted] on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 29, 1955, four carloads of Negroes including Hill and the unknown attorney from Orlando drove onto the beaches at Daytona Beach and went in swimming in front of the Daytona Plaza Hotel; that the lifeguards summoned police officers who on arrival asked the group to leave and go to the "colored beach"; that [redacted] allegedly informed the police the group did not intend to leave as they had a right to be there; that [redacted] allegedly invited the police to arrest them; that no arrests were made; and that after the police left, the group allegedly went back into the water for a few minutes and then departed. b7C

[redacted] understands that a petition was delivered to the office of the Mayor of Daytona Beach on the morning of July 1, 1955, by [redacted] which petition demanded privileges for Negroes on the beaches. [redacted] felt that rioting might possibly occur over the Fourth of July weekend and had alerted the local National Guard Unit. He further stated that the local police officials were completely aware of the situation and had been instructed to take the necessary precautions to avoid any rioting. b7D b7C

The Miami Office advised on July 6, 1955, that there was no racial disturbance reported in Daytona Beach during the July 1955, weekend.

63 JUL 15 1955

The afore-mentioned data have been furnished to the intelligence agencies of the armed services.

1 cc - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

See note on yellow, p.2.

MAILED 11
JUL - 7 1955
COMM-FBI

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Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

[redacted] b7C

Letter to Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Afore-mentioned data were contained in Miami teletype dated 7/1/55, captioned "Racial Matters, Info Concerning." A separate communication has been prepared under instant date confirming the afore-mentioned data telephonically furnished G-2, ONI and OSI on 7/1/55. The original of the incoming Miami teletype was sent through with a teletype to Miami dated 7/6/55.

cc - [redacted]
b7C

RECORDED - 81

61-3176-980

Date: July 7, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/7/82 BY cp 961

To: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Chief, Security Division

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: RACIAL MATTERS-DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
INFORMATION CONCERNING

This communication will confirm the following information telephonically furnished by a representative of this Bureau on July 1, 1955, to [redacted] G-2, [redacted] Office of Naval Intelligence, and [redacted] Office of Special Investigations. b7C

[redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] a Negro attorney of Daytona Beach and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and an unknown Negro attorney, allegedly a state officer of the NAACP from Orlando, Florida, were attempting to organize a group of approximately 100 Negroes to invade the beaches at Daytona Beach in an attempt to cause an incident during the July 4, 1955, weekend. [redacted] on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 29, 1955, four carloads of Negroes including [redacted] and the unknown attorney from Orlando drove onto the beaches at Daytona Beach and went in swimming in front of the Daytona Plaza Hotel; that the lifeguards summoned police officers who on arrival asked the group to leave and go to the "colored beach"; that [redacted] allegedly informed the police the group did not intend to leave as they had a right to be there; that [redacted] allegedly invited the police to arrest them; that no arrests were made; and that after the police left, the group allegedly went back into the water for a few minutes and then departed. b7C b7D b7C

Tolson
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Parsons
Rosen
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Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

See Note on Yellow page 2.

[redacted] b7C

(8)

2 JUL 8 1955

COMM — FBI
JUL - 7 1955
MAILED 25

b7C

Letter to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
Department of the Army

[redacted] understands that a petition was delivered to the office of the Mayor of Daytona Beach on the morning of July 1, 1955, by [redacted] which petition demanded privileges for Negroes on the beaches. Judge felt that rioting might possibly occur over the Fourth of July weekend and had alerted the local National Guard Unit. He further stated that the local police officials were completely aware of the situation and had been instructed to take the necessary precautions to avoid any rioting.

The Miami Office advised on July 6, 1955, that there was no racial disturbance reported in Daytona Beach during the July 4, 1955, weekend.

The afore-mentioned data have been furnished to the Assistant Attorney Generals Warren Olney III and William F. Tompkins of the Department of Justice.

2 cc - Director of Naval Intelligence
Department of the Navy
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

2 cc - Director of Special Investigations
The Inspector General
Department of the Air Force
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Afore-mentioned information is furnished by Miami teletype 7/1/55, captioned "Racial Matters, Info Concerning." A separate communication has been prepared under instant date confirming the above information telephonically furnished to Messrs William Foley and David Irons of the Department by memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Olney III, cc to Assistant Attorney General Tompkins. The original of the incoming Miami teletype was sent through with a teletype to Miami dated 7/6/55.

b7C [redacted] - Consolidation Unit

SAC, Pittsburgh (100-6306) July 13, 1955

Director, FBI (61-3176)

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
PITTSBURGH DIVISION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Rerep of Special Agent [redacted] dated June 24, 1955, at Pittsburgh. b7C

Rerep placed instant case in a pending inactive status but set forth no lead.

Pittsburgh should prepare an amended administrative page containing an appropriate lead. The Bureau is to be furnished two copies and New York one copy of the amended page.

In view of the fact that the above is considered an error of form, this matter is to be handled in accordance with instructions contained in SAC Letter 55-21.

cc - New York (For Information)

[redacted] b7C

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DATE 4/7/82 BY SP-8BTJ/mc

RECORDED - 49 61-3176-981

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COMM - FBI
JUL 13 1955
MAILED 19

Ex-107

8 JUL 14 1955

JUL 15 1955

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTI[illegible]
[TED STATES DEPARTMENT OF [illegible]

cc - [redacted]

b7C

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to July 8, 1955 AIRTEL

SAC, NEWARK

[redacted] 8-1

b2 [redacted] 7-1

b7D ReButel 6/22/55, authorizing attendance [redacted] Department of Colored People

Bufiles fail to reflect [illegible] of information furnished by [redacted] Suairtel summary pertinent information developed by informant to reach Bureau no later than 7/13/55.

HOOVER

Bufile 100-403106

cc - Bufile 61-3176 (NAACP)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/7/82 BY SP-1675/mc

[redacted] b7C

YELLOW DUPLICATE
JUL 8 - 1955
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Winterrowd
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Holloman
Gandy

63 JUL 15 1955

161-3176-
NOT RECORDED
103 JUL 13 1955

SENT VIA _____ M Per _____

4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FBI/DOJ

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM :

DATE: July 5, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/7/11 BY SP-4 BOTJ/mk

SUBJECT: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) 1954 ANNUAL REPORT CAPTIONED "THE YEAR OF THE GREAT DECISION"

Attached is the copy of the 1954 Annual Report of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People (NAACP), 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York, captioned "The Year Of The Great Decision"

The greater portion of the 1954 Annual Report makes reference to the United States Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, on public school segregation and referred to this decision as "among the most important civil rights gains in 1954." The 92-page report also listed lowering of Jim Crow practices in public housing projects and final elimination of segregation in the Armed Forces hospitals and facilities of the Veterans Administration as among other "civil rights" gains this year. The report said that "during 1954, America turned the corner from partial to full freedom for all citizens and the pressures of world opinion were lessened because America's household was being cleansed." On the other hand, the report observed that "a form of 'Neo-Ku Kluxism' was organized in some parts of the South in 1954, to halt Negro rights progress through economic pressures."

ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THE FBI:

Page 12 of this publication reflects that the FBI was called by the NAACP's Southeast Office "to investigate a number of situations in Mississipp Included were Belzoni, where Negroes were denied the right to vote; Amite County, where a group of white men, the sheriff among them, walked into a branch meeting demanding the books and subsequently arrested the branch treasurer on a false charge of drawing a rifle on the deputy; the Delta, whe a young wife and her nine-month-old child were held illegally by a plantatio owner."

Bufiles reflect that the incident at Belzoni mentioned above refers to the case captioned [redacted] victims; Civil Rights," wherein [redacted] alleged that the subject refused to permit qualified colored citizens to pay their poll taxes in order to prevent their voting on February 2, 1953. This Bureau conducted a full investigation, and the U. S. Attorney, Northern District of Mississippi, presented the facts of this case to the Federal Grand Jury at Oxford, Mississippi in September, 195

Enclosure

(3) [redacted]

RECORDED - 26 62-97476-98

INDEXED - 26

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

Jan. 1, 1955

The Federal Grand Jury returned a no bill in this case on September 17, 1953. The U. S. Attorney at Oxford, Mississippi, advised that he did not feel further prosecutive action was warranted in this case, and the Department advised that in the absence of further indications of a violation its file is closed. [redacted] b7c

The Amite County incident mentioned above, according to Bufiles refers to the case of [redacted] --b7c Victims; Civil Rights, wherein Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel for the NAACP, alleged by letter dated September 7, 1954, to the Honorable Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General, that on August 27, 1954, the sheriff, the deputy sheriff and other officials in Amite County Mississippi, walked into a NAACP meeting and seized certain books and documents without benefit of invitation, warrant or anything else. Marshall stated that it was obvious that the purpose of this invasion was merely to intimidate the Negroe present who were making plans for seeking to register and vote. Since that time, the NAACP books have been returned by the sheriff, Marshall said. On September 17, 1954, the Department requested a full investigation of this matter. Upon completion of investigation by this Bureau the facts were discussed with the U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of Mississippi o October 1, 1954, who requested no further investigation and stated he did no feel prosecution was warranted. By letter dated November 1, 1954, the Depar ment advised that it did not believe that prosecution for violation of civil rights statutes could be successfully maintained and therefore no further investigation was desired. On November 14, 1954, the Department advised tha Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP had telephonically contacted the Department o November 14, 1954, and advised that the victims in this case had been run out town by the subject on November 13, 1954. The Department requested that the victims be interviewed only, and that the results of the interviews be forwarded to the Department before any additional investigation was conducted. After a review of our investigative report reflecting these interviews, the Department advised on December 5, 1954, that the information set forth in th report did not indicate a violation of the civil rights statutes in the Department's opinion, and that, therefore, no further investigation was desired. [redacted] b7c

Bufiles reflect that the Delta incident mentioned above refers to the case captioned [redacted] -- Victim; Involuntary Servitude and Slavery," wherein [redacted] advised our Memphis Office on November 15, 1954, to the effect that the [redacted] had mistreated the victim b7c

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols [redacted] 1955

and forced her to work on his plantation, and that [redacted] had later arrested the victim and put her in jail. Our [redacted] office instituted a preliminary investigation on November 17, 1954, and the Department was advised of our institution of investigation on November 18, 1954. The results of our preliminary investigation were submitted to the Department which advised on December 20, 1954, that the statements of both the victim and her husband indicated that neither of them had been held by the subject against their will. Therefore, the Department stated no violation of any statute relating to involuntary servitude and slavery was indicated and no further investigation was desired. [redacted] b7c at Baltimore, Md.,

Page 7 of the publication reflects that NAACP officials met with the Superintendent of Schools, the Commissioner of Police, local groups and others in an attempt to quell local school strikes; assigned private detectives to investigate the activities of Bryant . Bowles in connection with the strikes and gave this information to the FBI.

Bufiles reflect that this incident at Baltimore, mentioned above, refers to the case captioned "National Association For The Advancement Of White People, Inc., (NAAWP); Internal Security--X." The NAAWP has been the subject of a Bureau investigation since August, 1952. Bryant W. Bowles is the President of this organization. This case continues in a pending status. (105-18867)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

CARBON COPY

AIR-TEL

SAC, Pittsburgh 7/13/55 1:30 PM

Director, FBI

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

COMINFIL - IMPROVED BENEVOLENT PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD; IS - C. Remyairtel to Bureau and NY, 7/6/55, captioned "PG-115-S".

CAUTION SHOULD BE USED IN DISSEMINATING ANY OF THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION.

[redacted] b7C
(28)
PG 100-12356

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1 100-3-81 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1 100-3-75 (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION)
1 61-3176 (NAACP)

4 - Newark (RM) 1 COMINFIL - IBPOE OF W
1 CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION
1 NAACP
[redacted] b7C

8 - New York (RM)
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1 CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
1 CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION
1 NAACP
[redacted] b7C

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Page 2.

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